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INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S The New York Times WEEKLY REVIEW

PM blasts Arabs for setting preconditions

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu last night charged participants in the Arab summit in Cairo with the same thing they had previously accused him of, saying that one side cannot put forward preconditions for the outcome of peace talks.

because of the Gulf states' continued anger over its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. The statement was stronger than expected, and attempted to put the onus on Israel to live up to its pledges, saying that any failure to do so would force the Arabs to reconsider their nascent economic links with it.

STEVE RODAN, Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

But Jordan and some other countries opening economic links with the Israelis resisted curtailing normalization. It remains uncertain how willing countries like Morocco, Qatar, and Oman will be to back away from possibly profitable deals.

Assad maintains the groups it supports are legitimately fighting Israeli occupation and are not terrorists. The Arab leaders accepted Assad's argument in the communique.

While the Arab leaders deplore all attempts to label legitimate national resistance as terrorism, they condemn all forms of terrorism, the document said.



Jordan's King Hussein exchanges words with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak yesterday, minutes before the final session of the Arab summit in Cairo begins.

Main points of communique

SOME of the main issues addressed in the final communique of the Arab summit. ISRAELI Arab leaders affirmed their commitment to peace. They warned Israel's new government that if it does not abide by the land-for-peace formula and carry out previous commitments, Arab states will "reconsider steps taken in the context of the peace process vis-a-vis Israel."

suffering of the Iraqi people under UN sanctions. But they opposed any action that would partition the nation. ARAB UNITY The leaders reaffirmed their commitment to Arab unity and initiated plans for an Arab free trade zone, an Arab justice court, and a mechanism to solve inter-Arab disputes.

Summit makes no new demands

THE concluding communique of the Arab summit, on first look, seems to confirm Israeli and American concerns evoked by the Egyptian-Syrian-Saudi decision to hold it following the election of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu.

COMMENT AVRAHAM SELA

old mode of compulsive conformity dictated by Syria and Libya in the name of Pan-Arabism. Indeed, one of the leading themes in the conference was the repeated emphasis by Arab leaders such as Hosni Mubarak and King Hussein on the Arab League's principles of respect for each other's independence and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs.

Jerusalem, is not new. Neither are the declarations regarding the Palestinian national right of self-determination and an independent state. But what was different was the underlying message in the communique as well as in Mubarak's concluding speech - appealing to Israel to contribute its share to the peace process.

Nautilus laser to arrive for tests

THE Nautilus laser anti-rocket system will be arriving here shortly for tests, and will be set up in the North to eventually serve as protection against Katyushas, a senior Defense Ministry researcher has said.

Uzi Elam, head of the ministry's weapons research and development division, told the latest edition of the Air Force Journal that there is no intention to use a Phalanx gun against Katyushas. "The Nautilus system, developed as a joint American-Israeli project, seems to us to be the most promising defense against Katyushas," Elam said.

the Anti-Aircraft Corps, "but possibly in the future other uses will be found for the system, including shooting down planes and helicopters." The Journal also published information regarding the Arrow anti-missile system.

US, Europe to clash on Iran at G-7

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton and European leaders are poised to clash on trade policy with Iran at this week's annual summit of seven industrialized states (G-7) in Lyon, France.

European Union (EU) leaders met in Florence over the weekend and condemned US legislation which would punish domestic and foreign companies doing business with Iran and Libya. The legislation has passed the House of Representatives, but not the Senate.

charged is motivated by business considerations. According to a participant in the meeting, Clinton discussed policy divisions with the Europeans over Iran, which he called "my most profound difference with the European leaders."

Iran has concluded a multi-million dollar deal with India for the construction of a plant that could be used to manufacture chemical weapons, reports here said yesterday.

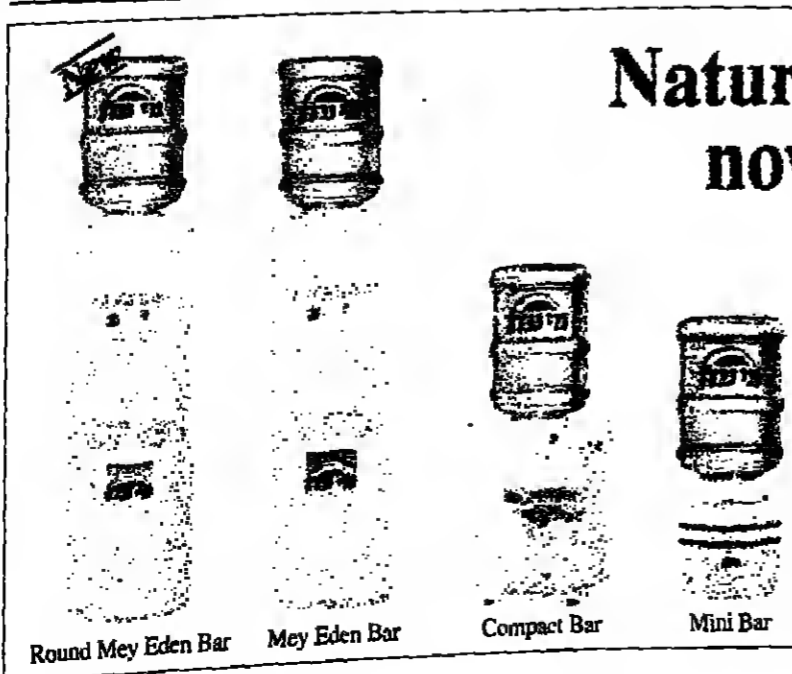
El Al inaugurates route from Tel Aviv to Amman

BILL HUTMAN AMMAN

IT was a time for celebration - the first El Al flight to the Jordanian capital. But Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy (National Religious Party) did not take part in the festivities, on grounds the entertainment was not kosher.

Troupe, which has represented Israel internationally in the past. Levy said, however, "I am happy that my first flight as minister is to Jordan. I hope the Tel Aviv-Amman line will strengthen relations between us."

There is an almost universal view that Iran and Libya present enormous problems to the world community with respect to terrorism and other issues. Secretary of Treasury Robert Rubin said, "And yet, while nations will all sit around and agree with that ... we are prepared to act in that respect and many others are not."



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Rabinovich resigns as ambassador to US

DAVID MAKOVSKY

AMBASSADOR to Washington and negotiator with Syria Itamar Rabinovich resigned yesterday. Rabinovich reportedly said last week he could not defend the new government's position on retaining sovereignty over the Golan Heights as an outcome of peace settlement with Syria. He was unavailable yesterday for further comment.

While it was clear that Rabinovich, who was appointed by Yitzhak Rabin to both positions in 1992, would resign after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's victory, the move was only announced after he met with the premier. Rabinovich is here in preparation for Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit tomorrow.

Netanyahu lauded Rabinovich's contribution to Israel, and he agreed to stay in his post until September 1. Rabinovich has been viewed in Washington as part of Rabin's inner circle, and this contributed to his standing in the US. Moreover, he was respected by members of the US peace team and his Syrian counterparts for his intellectual understanding of the issues.

He served as chief negotiator on the Syrian track until the assassination of Rabin, after which the post was taken up by Uri Savir. It remains unclear who will replace him.

Traditionally, the appointment of ambassador to the US is made by the prime minister. The two names most often are former envoys to the US Moshe Arens and Zalman Shoval.

The political fate of two other top Labor diplomatic appointments, Aliza Shinar in Moscow and Shimon Shamir in Jordan, remain in doubt.

Shamir resigned as ambassador to Egypt in 1990, when the last Likud government was formed, casting doubts on the government's desire for peace. When interviewed yesterday, he said he will shortly discuss his future with top officials in Jerusalem, but refused to elaborate.

Zandberg to submit bill on Jerusalem in response to PA

LIAT COLLINS

IN response to the publication of the Palestinian Authority's constitution, which describes Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, MK Eliezer Zandberg (Tsometi) is submitting an amendment to the so-called Jerusalem Law.

The amendment calls for a special majority of 80 MKs to approve territorial concessions in Jerusalem. An identical bill, filed by Transportation Minister Yitzhak Levy (National Religious Party), passed preliminary reading in the last Knesset, but was buried in the Law Committee and is not eligible for the rules of continuity.

Zandberg said he would submit the bill at the earliest opportunity after the Knesset presidium convenes and a new Speaker is chosen.

"The timing of the bill is not incidental," said Zandberg. "It is a definite response to the statements over the weekend by PA officials who declared Jerusalem to be the capital of Palestine. I don't doubt this government will protect Jerusalem, but I don't think such statements can be ignored."

He said the importance was underscored by statements made at the Cairo summit.

Zandberg said he hopes MKs from various factions will support the bill "and I'm sure that this time, the head of the Law Committee won't just let it rot there."

He said he had not consulted with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu or coalition partners before announcing he would submit the bill.

Poll: Public wants Knesset approval of peace pacts

EVELYN GORDON

SOME 63% of the Israeli public think a law should be passed to require Knesset ratification of peace agreements, while 25.4% think such a law is unnecessary, according to a new poll by Gallop Israel.

There is no current legal requirement for Knesset ratification, but in practice, all governments have brought such agreements to the Knesset for approval.

Dr. Aaron Lerner, head of Independent Media Review and Analysis, which commissioned the poll, said he sees these results as indicating a strong desire on the public's part for checks and bal-

ances on the government. The fact that so many people want to see this practice enshrined in law, despite the fact that it is already firmly entrenched in tradition, is very significant, he said.

The poll, of 511 people, has a 4.3% margin of error.

The poll also asked all those who favored such a law whether they thought such agreements should require a two-thirds majority to pass, or whether a simple majority was enough. Fifty-three percent of those who wanted a law favored a two-thirds majority, while 36% thought a simple majority was sufficient.

Mordechai meets with General Staff

"I am convinced that we will work in complete harmony," Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai told the General Staff yesterday, during a meeting in Tel Aviv. He said that before leaving the IDF 18 months ago, he had been a member of the General Staff for 11 years and thus knows its members very well. "They are the best people we have," he said. "This is the most serious, most responsible group in the country. I don't recommend that anyone from outside or anyone who doesn't really know what I or we feel deep down tell us what we think about others."

"I tell you with total honesty that I have deep respect for those sitting here, and I have no doubts in my heart about any of you."

Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak said that "despite what has been said in the press, you will have the complete, responsible cooperation of all those sitting here, and your success is our success."

He added that Mordechai "faces the toughest challenge in the country - responsibility for national security. We will do the best we know how to do to assure that in this we are all successful." (Tum)

DEMANDS

This conference reaffirmed Egypt's leadership in the Arab world and strengthened its bargaining position internationally, as well as regionally.

Yasser Arafat is the other winner, given the reassertion of previous summit formulae on the Palestinian issue.

Assad has less reason to feel



Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and Jordan's King Hussein meet after the closing session of the Arab summit. (Reuters)

Israeli press barred from Gaddafi news conference

STEVE RODAN and news agencies

CAIRO

the southern Lebanese town during Operation Grapes of Wrath.

On Arab normalization with Israel, Gaddafi said: "Anyway now the Arabs are demanding that any future step must be met by steps from the other side. Even the

previous steps will be lost if matters proceed in [Netanyahu's] headline manner."

Gaddafi also said that he met Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and "chatted and laughed."

"I now understand that the

Palestine Liberation Organization will struggle to liberate Palestinian land... I am now reassured that the Palestinian charter has not been abandoned even if publicly or in form it had been changed," he said.

But Gaddafi said he would continue to expel thousands of Palestinians from Libya "to contribute to their return to their homeland... This is evidence of Libyan support."

Two hundred Palestinians refused entry to Palestinian-ruled Gaza by Israeli authorities who still control the border, are still stuck in no-man's land between Egypt and Libya, after Gaddafi expelled them last year.

Gaddafi, who triggered a clash with Kuwait last month, repeated his suggestion that the Gulf state should be part of either Iraq or Saudi Arabia as it is unable to defend itself and is depending on Washington to protect it.

"You are defended by a foreign power. Be defended by an Arab power - it is much better," said Gaddafi.

Don't call Netanyahu a terrorist, Moussa says

CAIRO (Reuters) - Egypt's Foreign Minister Amr Moussa rebuked an Arab journalist yesterday who referred to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as a terrorist.

Moussa was asked about the "three noes" in Netanyahu's Likud Party policy statement last week which ruled out Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, negotiations on the future of Jerusalem and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

"What is your view of the consequences of the 'noes' of this terrorist," a journalist asked.

"I deal with Netanyahu as prime minister of Israel and not as a terrorist," Moussa said. "When you ask a foreign minister, in order for him to give a proper answer, you should refer to Netanyahu as a prime minister not as a terrorist."

Golan leader calls for urgent meeting with Netanyahu

DAVID RUDGE and news agencies

GOLAN Regional Council chairman Yehuda Wolman called on Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to visit the region as soon as possible.

Wolman said yesterday that such a visit would make a "clear and vital statement" to Arab countries, the public and residents of the Golan regarding the future of the region.

He also called on Netanyahu to immediately implement the "Golan 2000" development program, aimed at increasing the Jewish population of the region by a further 10,000 people over the next four years.

Wolman, in a letter to Netanyahu, said residents of the Golan could not understand the purpose or wisdom behind the comments of Foreign Minister David Levy at the end of last week, when he said that Israel would be willing to reach a compromise with Syria in return for peace.

Netanyahu, meanwhile, distanced himself from Levy's remarks.

"Only statements made by the prime minister reflect Israeli policy on these political issues,"

spokesman Michael Stoltz told Reuters.

"I believe that if peace serves both sides and they regard it as a primary interest, they will talk and meet halfway," Levy had said, referring to Syria and Israel.

The Golan 2000 plan calls for an investment of NIS 660 million in government funds over the next four years to expand and improve infrastructure, including roads, sewage and water networks, and public building.

Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, meanwhile, said that Israel should wait at least two generations before discussing a withdrawal from the Golan Heights, even if Syria was ready to normalize ties.

"I'm talking about a situation where our population lives at peace with their population for two generations. And if all those wounds from the past heal, we can sit down and discuss the possibility of coming down or withdrawing from the Golan," Kahalani told Army Radio.

He said he would ask Levy to clarify his remarks, and would

bring them up at Friday's cabinet meeting.

Other political sources said

Levy's remarks were designed to create a good atmosphere for US Secretary of State Warren Christopher's upcoming visit.

Two injured in Gush Katif stoning

EVELYN GORDON

A WOMAN and a baby were slightly wounded yesterday when their car was stoned about 150 meters north of the Gush Katif junction.

Gush Katif spokeswoman Datya Itzhaki said the incident occurred at about 2:30 p.m. One window of the car was broken, and two of its four occupants were slightly wounded by the broke glass.

Both were treated on the spot and sent home.

The IDF Spokesman's Office confirmed the incident, and said the Palestinian Police have begun searching for the culprits.

Itzhaki said this is the second stone-throwing incident in Gush Katif in less than a week, after more than a year without any stonings.

A car was stoned in exactly the same place at about 4 p.m. last Friday, she said, and a young man was slightly injured.

She said the residents have scheduled a meeting with senior army officers to discuss the resurgence of this phenomenon.

"There are enough soldiers in the area," she said. "They just need to be given the right orders."

Syria welcomes summit move to pressure Israel

CAIRO (Reuters) - Syria welcomed the outcome of the Arab summit yesterday, saying it would put pressure on Israel to continue a Middle East peace process based on the principle of trading land for peace.

"The outcome is very good, positive and important," Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shara said. "It will reflect on the whole peace process and the basis on which the negotiations were launched."

"It will also lead to more pressure on those who go far from the basis of the peace process," Shara said in a reference to the policy reiterated by Netanyahu last week.

The final communique linking normalization of ties with Israel to its observance of the current principles of the peace process emerged only after long debate among the representatives of 21 Arab governments.

While Syria had pushed for an explicit link to put pressure on Israel, states like Jordan had called for Arab leaders to wait until it was clear if Netanyahu would carry out his election platform.

But Shara said the final communique received unanimous support and Syrian sources said all the positions advocated by Damascus had been accepted.

PRECONDITIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

Foreign Minister David Levy said he would have to carefully study the Cairo communique for a definitive reaction. But he added, "Certainly on first glance, there are things which are grave, contradictory to the atmosphere necessary for continuing to achieve peace."

The statement, he said, includes language that borders on "dictates and conditions" which make negotiations futile. "Peace cannot be achieved through dictates, nor in a style which may be interpreted as a threat."

DRIVE CAREFULLY

OPEN LETTER TO CHARLES GOODMAN, CHAIRMAN, JEWISH AGENCY BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Dear Mr. Goodman,

We are turning to you in this desperate and unprecedented way only after the office of your Chairman, Mr. Avrum Burg, rebuffed a number of earnest requests for an emergency meeting with a delegation of academicians and nationally-prominent editors of Yiddish newspapers.

The purpose of the meeting was to understand and protest the recent action of the Jewish Agency when, without consultation, it summarily ejected our organization from the premises it had been using in the Tel Aviv building of the Jewish Agency. There followed subsequently a systematic policy of harassment, withdrawal of administrative services and cutting telephone lines and electricity. We were also stunned by the abrupt termination of a modest annual subsidy of \$10,000 to bring the message of Israel and Jewish culture to Jewish communities throughout the world.

The claimed need to economize - as the ostensible reason for these acts of hostility - came just when your Chairman and many of his department heads began to enjoy a substantial salary increase in excess of \$20,000 per annum. Further, the claim to economize rings hollow in the light of the June 12 newspaper report alleging gross mismanagement and overspending by almost 100%.

This attack on Yiddish culture and education comes just when the Knesset, for the first time in the history of Israel, passed legislation recognizing Yiddish as an important component of Israeli culture and established a public agency to support and encourage Yiddish in all its creative manifestations.

When more and more Olim from the former Soviet Union are finding their Jewish roots via the Yiddish language, this shocking action on the part of your functionaries dashes our hopes to train Yiddish teachers for our seminars in Russia, provide scholarships for Russian students in Israel, publish Jewish classical texts in the Yiddish language and utilize the Yiddish medium to strengthen Jewish unity and deepen Jewish identity.

Mr. Goodman, we urgently ask you to restore the modest space and financial assistance available to us in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Prof. Gershon Winer, Chairman
World Council for Yiddish and Jewish Culture

(Friends of Yiddish throughout the world are asked to indicate their support by writing to: The Jewish Agency, Office of the Chairman, 47 King George St., POB 92, Jerusalem Fax: 972-2-252-352 E-mail: jazoburg@netvision.net.il)

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Dr. Sela lectures on the Middle East at Hebrew University

Handwritten text in a box: אברהם יצחק

Controversy in Labor over election of new leader

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

SHIMON Peres's statement that he would not resign as Labor Party chairman is arousing a controversy between those who want him to stay at the helm and rehabilitate the party, and those eager to replace the leadership responsible for the election defeat.

Ya'acov Tsur yesterday called for holding primaries as soon as possible, warning that any delay in election of a new leadership may give the impression that there is nobody worthy or capable of leading the party.

He stressed that the longer it takes to hold primaries, the more internal rivalry dispute and bickering will erupt.

MK Ehud Barak, who has already said he will run for party leader, decided after Peres's statement to take no action until Peres sets the primary date.

Labor's Young Guard is also in favor of immediate preparations for leadership elections and came out in support of Barak as the best candidate. "The party leaders failed, and they must go. This includes secretary-general Nissim Zvilli and other heads of the old apparatus," a Young Guard source said. The source expressed fear that with Peres and those in key leadership positions remaining for another year, they might discourage new candidates, and that Peres may run for another term as chairman.

MK Haim Ramon said last week that unless Labor changes its antiquated structure and holds open leadership primaries, he will not run for chairman.

MK Ori Orr came out strongly against Tsur's call for early leadership elections, stating that "Labor is not an Eskimo society, and does not throw its leaders out into the snow. We have plenty of time, and Peres must be allowed to continue leading the party for another year. The party must get organized, and there is much to do in opposition." "There is a real battle here and the party knows it. It must pull itself together, sharpen its message, and persuade the voters," he said.



Police officers collect evidence at the Ecstasy laboratory raided yesterday in Kfar Aharon.

Police raid Ecstasy pill factory

RAINE MARCUS

POLICE yesterday raided a laboratory near Ness Ziona that was equipped to manufacture thousands of Ecstasy pills daily. The factory, in Kfar Aharon, was said to be the first such facility ever discovered here. Three suspects have been arrested, but many more arrests are imminent, said police. One man was caught in the middle of manufacturing the drug.

Ecstasy, a derivative of dimethylamphetamine, which is widely used by youth frequenting "acid" parties, is usually imported here from Europe. Yesterday's bust signifies "a distressing new phenomenon here," said Central District police chief Cmdr. Shlomo Aharonishky, who described the drug as

"very dangerous and which can be fatal."

Police, headed by Chief Supt. Dudu Mantzur and Supt. Danny Blurian, raided the lab following a five-month undercover investigation. One suspect has a record for drug trafficking and smuggling offenses. Another, believed to be the chemist behind the sophisticated operation, was not known previously to police.

"The amount of equipment and chemicals would not put the Weizmann Institute to shame," said Blurian. "There were tens of liters of raw materials, liquid chemicals, powders, empty capsules, pills, machines

and test tubes."

Chemistry textbooks were also found at the laboratory, which had been operating for nearly a year and which had churned out thousands of top-quality pills and capsules in all colors and sizes, said Blurian.

Ecstasy sells retail at acid parties for around NIS 100 a trip, said Blurian, and is very profitable for both dealers and manufacturers. Police are still trying to discover who financed the operation. The premises were rented from a middle-aged couple who apparently had no knowledge of the operation.

The three suspects will appear for a remand hearing in Ramle Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

Arthur Yisraelovitz pleads not guilty

FORMER Histadrut treasurer Arthur Yisraelovitz pleaded not guilty to charges of fraud and breach of trust to Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday, and claimed he is being discriminated against because other senior Histadrut officials he said were involved were never charged.

He also said he had been promised a hearing before Attorney-General Michael Ben-

Yair before being charged, but that hearing never took place, and that his poor health prevents him from standing trial.

The charges stem from Yisraelovitz's management of Yisrael Kessar's campaign in the 1992 Labor Party primaries, when Kessar was still Histadrut secretary-general. Yisraelovitz, who was responsible for the campaign's finances, is accused of charging Histadrut departments for work done

for the campaign using forged invoices, rather than billing Kessar's campaign headquarters.

The prosecution responded that some of the others involved, including Kessar and former Na'amat secretary-general Moshe Lukelsky, had the files against them closed for lack of evidence, while some are still being investigated.

Ben-Yair, the prosecutor said, had never promised Yisraelovitz anything, but had told him that he

would consider giving him a hearing before he was charged. Ben-Yair did weigh the issue, but decided there was no reason to permit it.

As for his ill health, since Yisraelovitz is currently employed in a different, but equally responsible position, there is no reason to assume he is not well enough to stand trial.

The next hearing was set for July 1.

Furor over Netanyahu aide's police record

RAINE MARCUS

PINHAS Fishler, recently appointed as director of the Prime Minister's Office, has a petition on file with the High Court of Justice seeking to have his police record expunged.

After his appointment, it was revealed in the Hebrew press that 14 police files had been opened against him in the past. Seven are still listed on police computers, even though charges have never been brought against him.

Over the past few years, Fishler has waged a bitter war against the police and the District Attorney's office to have this record erased. Anyone who is questioned under caution by police or has a complaint filed against him is automatically listed as having a criminal record: whether charges are brought or not.

Now the High Court is expected to set a precedent for thousands of others who have been investigated by police and appear on their computers as having a "criminal record," regardless of whether they have

been indicted.

One complaint is that Fishler posed as a lawyer during a phone conversation with the state attorney's assistant, Amir Zolot. Fishler has vehemently denied the accusation, and has said if it is proved, he would resign his post immediately.

A complaint filed by a Nature Reserves Authority inspector in 1985 resulted in an indictment, but the case was closed due to "lack of public interest."

In 1986, a former employer complained to police that Fishler had made nuisance phone calls to him. Other complaints were made by his former wife, who accused him of threatening behavior, and another woman who claimed he had made nuisance phone calls and threatened her. Another woman also made similar accusations against him. Fishler denied all the allegations.

The Prime Minister's Office has already declared that unless Fishler is found to have committed a crime, he will remain in his position.

Remand upheld against suspect in shooting of Labor Party activist

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court yesterday upheld a remand order against Amir Kedoshim, who is charged with shooting a Labor Party activist in the leg during the election campaign.

The Tel Aviv District Court had ordered Kedoshim remanded until the end of his trial, and Kedoshim appealed this decision to the Supreme Court. Justice Gavriel Bach, who heard the appeal, said he considered releasing Kedoshim on bail because the attack was election-related, and therefore chances of a recurrence might be less now that the elections are over.

However, he said, a number of factors convinced him that the remand

should be upheld: The severity of the crime, which is enough in itself to justify a remand; the fact that the pistol used in the shooting was uncensored, and still has not been found, which creates the suspicion that Kedoshim might use it again if released; and evidence indicating that Kedoshim has been trying to influence a key witness to change his story.

Finally, Bach noted, there is the issue of the public interest.

"There is no doubt that this is a very serious incident, the likes of which we have never seen in the past - even during [other] fiercely contended elections," he wrote.

Music therapy center faces closure

YOGHI DREAZEN

MUSIC, according to the old saying, soothes the soul. The staff of Haram, one of Jerusalem's leading music-therapy centers, believes that it soothes the body as well.

Haram's music, however, may be coming to an end: without some urgent financial assistance, it will close down in less than a month's time.

"It hurts to even think about having to close," said Haram's founder and director, Rivka Feldman. "But we've done everything we can." That includes contacting some 36 MKs, representatives of both the national and local governments, and the ministries of Education, Defense, and Finance, all of whom, according to Feldman, complimented the center, wished it luck, and left without promising anything concrete.

"I have gotten so many prayers on those visits that I'm sure I'll go straight to heaven," she joked. "Unfortunately, that's all I got."

Feldman established Haram - which currently treats around 25 disabled adults, children, and IDF veterans - in 1978, with the proceeds of the Arthur Rubinstein Prize she received for her work at the Allyn Hospital.

It opened its first center, in Kiryat Hayovel, in 1983. A

decade later, it opened a second center in Katamon. Now, according to Feldman, both are in danger. "We had to close the one in Kiryat Hayovel last July," she said.

"We need \$125,000 to operate the two of them." Last week, both former and current students gathered for an end of the year concert.

A few hours before the concert began, Feldman smiled as she watched one longtime student gently lead another by the hand. "Words can't begin to describe the type of beauty you see here," she said, softly.

"The friendships that are formed here are extraordinarily strong. Outside, they have so many problems, so much difficulty. Here they've found a place for themselves, a life for themselves."

Moshe, an IDF veteran who was

wounded in action eight years ago, explained that when he began his therapy at Haram, he had difficulty even grasping objects. "Now I can play with both of my hands," he said. "It's given me the feeling I can really do things."

As the center began to fill up with students and guests - such as the wife of Likud MK Ze'ev (Benny) Begin - Feldman made her way across the crowded room, greeting people with a smile.

A few minutes before the concert was set to begin, Feldman stood up to give a short introduction.

"We hope to have a concert like this at the end of every year," she said. "We hope to give our students the chance to show how much they learned during the previous year."

But even at that happy moment, as the music began, it was impossible not to hear the worry in her voice.

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA
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School of Social Work
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Israeli held for murder of Michmoret man in Japan

RAINE MARCUS

A PUBLICATION ban on the murder of a Michmoret man in Japan three months ago, allegedly by another Israeli who was a tourist there, was lifted yesterday by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court.

Gilad Osher, 24, was buried yesterday in Michmoret, after his body was located two weeks ago. Jerusalem resident Eyal Saad, 24, has been arrested by Japanese police on suspicion of committing the murder as part of a gang dispute over market territory in the sale of paintings in Japan.

Osher was found dead in an apartment in Shizuoka, about 200km from Tokyo, that he shared with Avi Uzan, who gave police information about the murder and the body's location when he returned here at the beginning of April.

Three Israeli detectives were sent to Japan and after prolonged searches found the body, which Uzan said he was forced to bury against his will. Uzan was not taken to Japan by Israeli police, since he would have been arrested there. Uzan, a Kiryat Gat resident, spent the past five years in Japan selling jewelry and posters. Uzan and Saad had a business relationship until the two had a falling out in 1995.

The victim's father, Zvika Osher, said his son's killing was a mistake and that the murderer "killed the wrong person."

"Gilad was not involved in the Israeli mafias operating in Japan," he told Army Radio. "He innocently went to work there."

In recent years, Tokyo and other cities in Japan have attracted hundreds of young Israelis who earn a living by selling paintings, jewelry

and trinkets from street stands. There have been disputes between rival gangs of Israelis, who have a bad reputation with Japanese authorities, and many are deported or treated unfavorably.

Saad was arrested based on Uzan's testimony. But Saad apparently has implicated Uzan, and denies the murder.

The case surfaced on April 7, when Uzan, accompanied by a lawyer, reported the incident to police. Around the same time, Osher's family reported him missing after they had lost contact with them.

"I believe Uzan's conscience troubled him, and that's the reason he came to us to confess," said a senior police officer some time ago. Uzan had not been arrested here, and may not be able to travel to Japan to serve as a prosecution witness should Saad be indicted.

Uzan met Osher in Tokyo, and the two set up a stand in the city. After a short time, the pair decided to move to Shizuoka.

On March 14, Uzan told police, he returned home, to find his roommate's dead body and Saad standing by it. Saad said Uzan threatened him and forced him to accompany him to bury the body in the woods. Two weeks later, Uzan, according to his testimony, managed to flee to Israel, where a week later he told police his version of events.

Israeli police launched a joint investigation with Japanese police. Police said the investigation is not yet complete. Police are still investigating whether the Japanese mafia, the Yakuza, was involved in the killing.

Jerusalem councilman demands data on overpayments

EVELYN GORDON

JERUSALEM city councilman Oman Yekutieli (Meretz) petitioned the High Court of Justice yesterday against city officials' refusal to give him data on overpayments to municipal employees.

The petition, filed by attorney Yossi Aron, is based on a city comptroller's report issued last July, which found that various city employees had been overpaid by hundreds of thousands of shekels. The comptroller recommended that the excess payments be refunded to the city. Last November, the city's control committee, which Yekutieli chairs, met to discuss this issue. The committee asked for updated figures on the amounts of money which should be refunded, and the deputy city manager promised to provide these numbers within 30 days. However, the figures never arrived.

After much correspondence back and forth, the petition said, the deputy manager finally said he had the figures, but that Mayor Ehud Olmert had forbidden him to give them to the control committee.

Yekutieli therefore asked the High Court to force the city to give him the figures. The petition noted that by law, any city councilman has the right to receive any relevant data he requests from the city. Furthermore, it said, the control committee is entrusted with the job of ensuring that the comptroller's recommendations are implemented, and has the right to receive any data it needs to fulfill that task.

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Dimitra Liani-Papandreou, widow of former Greek Socialist Premier Andreas Papandreou, is accompanied by her cousin, left, and an aide as she leaves Athens' Metropolitan church yesterday. She had escorted her husband's body, which will lie in state for three days. Papandreou died early yesterday after a heart attack. (Reuters)

Papandreou, former Greek premier, dies at 77

ATHENS (Reuters) — Former socialist premier Andreas Papandreou, who broke the Greek right's long grip on power and infuriated allies with maverick anti-Western stands, died yesterday after a heart attack.

Papandreou, 77, evoked strong emotions. Legions of followers refused to desert him during personal and financial scandals, but his critics blamed him for nearly bankrupting the country and steering Greece into isolation from Western allies.

He was often vilified in the West for his embrace of Third World radicals after becoming Greece's first socialist premier in

1981, as well as for his steady stream of anti-European, anti-US and anti-NATO diatribes.

But he had a huge following at home, where many saw him as the one politician who stood up to powerful Western allies, and who showered money on the poor rural areas of Greece.

"For us, the millions of people who believed in him and followed him, it is a black day. Half the Greek people lived in obscurity until Andreas gave us a voice. Even his enemies admit his greatness," said Anastasia Kape-Moustakli.

She was among hundreds of mourners outside Athens' Orthodox Cathedral, where Papandreou will lie in state for three days.

The blue and white Greek flag on the Acropolis was at half mast. Television and radio stations played special features on his turbulent life and political struggles throughout the day.

Politicians from all parties, celebrities and the public filed past to kiss his flag-draped coffin and say goodbye to the one-time US citizen who led the Greek left.

Doctors said Papandreou, who underwent heart surgery in 1988, died after cardiac arrest at his home in the northern suburb of Ekali. He had been in poor health

for months.

Admired in Greece for his indomitable spirit, he was working just before his death on a statement for a crucial congress next Thursday of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).

Unseen in public for months, Papandreou resigned as premier in January due to poor health but kept his powerful position as leader of PASOK which he founded in 1974.

Papandreou's personal life was as stormy and colorful as his political life. A renowned womanizer, he campaigned for a third term in 1989 with his mistress at his side.

He lost that election but married Dimitra Liani, a former Olympic Airways stewardess and his third wife. She appeared at the Cathedral, looking exhausted and choking back tears.

Shortly after she left, Papandreou's second wife, Margaret, paid her respects with two of their four children, including Education Minister George Papandreou.

Hasina sworn in as new Bangladesh prime minister

DHAKA, Bangladesh (AP) — Twenty-one years after this nation's founding father was killed in an army massacre, his daughter, Sheikh Hasina, became Bangladesh's new prime minister yesterday.

"My first job will be to restore peace and political stability for rapid economic development," Hasina, 48, told reporters after being sworn in by President Abdur Rahman Biswas.

During the ceremony at the Presidential Palace, she wore an off-white silk sari and stood beside her husband, scientist Wazed Miah, as many of the country's newly elected lawmakers applauded.

But the challenges that Hasina, whose liberal Awami League finished first in this month's parliamentary election, will face from the largest opposition party also were evident.

Her bitter rival, former Prime Minister Khaleda

Zia, who resigned nearly three months ago after two years of opposition party protests led by Hasina, did not attend the ceremony.

Zia, whose centrist Bangladesh Nationalist Party finished second in the election, also postponed the ceremony during which her party's legislators were to be sworn yesterday, saying they need more time to prepare for the event. Asked what Zia's behavior could mean regarding the stiff opposition her new government could face, Hasina said: "We hope we will get cooperation from all political parties. We want to make democracy work in our country."

Hasina's Awami League party finished four seats short of a majority in the 300-seat Parliament. But she has won the support of the Jatiya Party of former military ruler Hussain Mohammed Ershad, which finished third with 32 seats.

Pope's meeting with Jewish leaders heavy with symbolism

BERLIN (AP) — Pope John Paul II has greeted Jews around the world during his foreign travels, but his meeting yesterday with a German group took on particular significance in this city that was the center of the Nazi world.

For one, the meeting was being held in the Bernhard Lichtenberg House, named after the German priest the pope had honored hours before for anti-Nazi activities that included condemning Hitler's persecution of the Jews.

It also came as the pope himself seemingly plunged into the historical debate over whether the Roman Catholic Church had done enough to try to save European Jews from the Holocaust.

According to a prepared text, the pope's statement to the Jewish representatives said, "Even though historians have shown that there were many priests and lay Catholics who turned against the terror regime and that numerous forms of resistance arose in the every-day lives of the people, there were, nonetheless, too few who resisted."

The meeting with nine members of the Directorate of the Central Council of German Jews was

closed to the media, and confirmation could not be obtained on which remarks the pope delivered orally. But church spokesmen said such texts should be treated as official.

The pontiff's text also said there had been efforts, including "protests and pastoral statements, on the part of the Church hierarchy to try to prevent the inhuman Nazi system from carrying out its horrible deeds."

Twice in two days in Germany, the Polish-born John Paul had omitted from his homilies statements in his prepared texts defending the Church's role during the Holocaust.

One omitted portion had portrayed the Church as playing a large role in fighting Nazism.

Another had dismissed as "cheap polemics" the criticism directed at Pope Pius XII, the wartime pontiff. Pius has been attacked by Jews and others who claim he failed to mobilize the full force of the Catholic clergy, possibly fearing a backlash against Catholics and problems for his efforts to keep Rome an "open city" during the German occupation.

He opened religious houses to

Jews, condemned their murder in a 1942 Christmas address, and approved contributions to agencies that helped them flee Europe, while maintaining diplomatic relations with the Nazi regime.

It was not the first time that the issue has come up during one of John Paul's foreign tours. In 1991 in Budapest, Hungarian Jews confronted the pope with harsh criticism of the conduct of the Hungarian Church during the war.

The pope was meeting with representatives of the remnants of the Jewish community in Berlin that was among the most thriving in Europe and numbered 160,000 people before Hitler came to power.

By the end of World War II, 90,000 had managed to flee and only 8,000 of the rest survived.

Today the Berlin community numbers 12,000 out of 65,000 Jews in Germany.

During the meeting, John Paul urged Christians and Jews to join forces in fighting for man's dignity. "This includes in particular the fight against any form of antisemitism so that a phenomenon like the Holocaust can never occur again," he said, according to the text.

New book: Hillary had imaginary talks with Eleanor Roosevelt, Gandhi

WASHINGTON (AP) — US first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton had imaginary talks with Eleanor Roosevelt during multiple sessions conducted by a spiritual advisor who compares the first lady with Joan of Arc, according to a new book by journalist Bob Woodward.

The first lady also communed with Mahatma Gandhi during one meeting with author Jean Houston, who is co-director of the Foundation for Mind Research and believes her own "personal archetypal predecessor" was Athena, the Greek goddess of wisdom.

Woodward writes in *The Choice*. Lengthy excerpts of the new book appear in Sunday editions of *The Washington Post*, where Woodward is an assistant managing editor.

The new book, to be previewed in three more installments in the *Post*, also reports on Bob Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, and some of the inner workings of the campaign of the man expected to be the Republican presidential candidate.

Woodward writes that the first lady declined Houston's suggestion that she address Jesus Christ, because it would be "too personal."

Among the other details from the book:

President Clinton was present at the first session between Mrs. Clinton and Houston and was asked to describe his best qualities. "I have a good heart," he said. "I really do. I hope I have a decent mind."

Houston said Mrs. Clinton was carrying the burden of 5,000 years of history when women were subservient and told her "she was reversing thousands of years of expectation, and was there upfront, probably more than virtually any woman in human history — apart from Joan of Arc. Hillary was a stand-in for all women, and as such has an historic opportunity."

Houston and an associate, Mary Catherine Bateson, followed up their initial weekend at Camp David with a series of letters and

"subsequent sessions at the White House."

White House press secretary Mike McCurry was quoted in an accompanying *Post* article as saying: "As to the passages about Mrs. Clinton, they describe a graceful first lady who enjoys listening to women with ideas and perspective that differ from her own. And he describes one group discussion that was essentially a brainstorming session for her book. Nothing mysterious there."

Houston believed in putting people into trances and used hypnosis and, for a period in the 1960s, conducted experiments with LSD. "But she tried to be careful with Hillary and the president, intentionally avoiding any of those techniques," Woodward writes.

He said one session occurred in a sun parlor atop the White House, where Mrs. Clinton and several members of her staff were present, including one who tape recorded one of the first lady's "conversations" with Roosevelt, wife of four-term US President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"Houston asked the first lady to open up herself to Mrs. Roosevelt as a way of looking at her own capacities and place in history," he writes. "Houston regarded it as a classic technique, practiced by Machiavelli, who used to talk to ancient men."

Most people in the White House did not know about the sessions with Houston and Bateson and some who did feared the sessions could "trigger politically damaging comparisons to Nancy Reagan's use of astrology, which had heavily influenced if not determined the schedule of her husband, President Ronald Reagan," Woodward writes.

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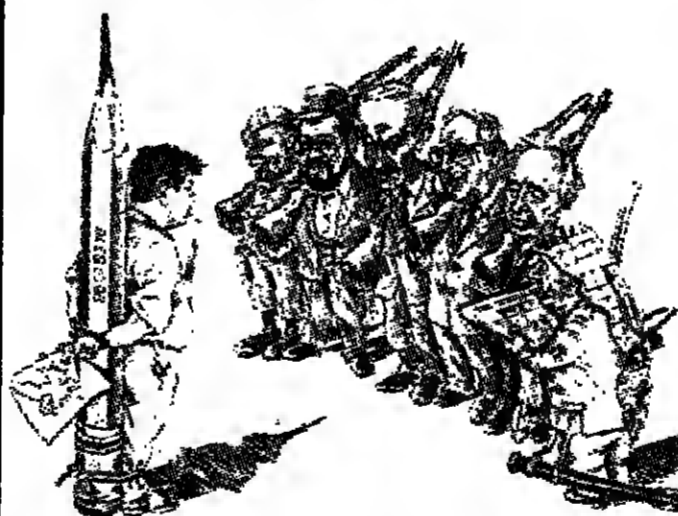
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אשלי פיינס

He turned over (and into) a new Page for ballet

ACTORS aren't the only artists who change their names for box-office appeal. When he joined the British Royal Ballet 21 years ago, Ashley Loverty was soon made to realize that his surname wasn't suitable for the stage.

"I started looking for a new name that was direct and simple but at the same time not too common. So I chose Page, which also goes well with Ashley," he says.

Nowadays, Ashley Loverty is probably known only to his bankers, the Home Office and passport control.

Ashley Page, on the other hand, is one of the most promising young choreographers around. His *Fearful Symmetries*, which was hailed by *The Times* of London as "an explosion of music, design and movement," will be performed this Thursday

and Friday at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center, with a triple bill presented by The Royal Ballet in its Israeli debut tour.

Enjoying a Goldstar beer, the 39-year-old fought exhaustion as he talked in a Tel Aviv hotel lobby about his work. "We had a long flight from Buenos Aires via Madrid to London. Then we had just five hours before our flight to Tel Aviv. But as we live close to the airport, we rushed home, repacked our luggage and rushed back to the airport."

The "we" is Royal Ballet first soloist Nicola Roberts, with whom Page has lived for the last 12 years, their two-year-old son Jordan, and the boy's nanny.

Bald in front with a generous pony tail at the back and sporting three earrings in his right lobe, the unshaven Page explains that although he is still considered a

member of the Royal Ballet where he dances, choreography - which he began in 1981 - has taken priority.

"I like it this way. I can make choices now. However, I have the feeling that if I was officially appointed the company's resident choreographer I would be even bolder. Although already nowadays I do things I like too and no longer have to wait for commissions from the company management."

Fearful Symmetries, Page explains, started with the music, a powerful half-hour score by American composer John Adams.

"It is a choreographic account of the music. Each of my works starts differently. Some start with the design, others with the dancers."

"This music is like an invitation to dance, which is why I know of

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

at least five other choreographers, mainly Americans, who have created a dance work for it."

Page describes Adams's score as minimalist music "although Joan wouldn't like the definition. Somehow all these minimalist composers believe the word itself is a dirty one."

"There are blocks of repetition with development and in that way it's like baroque music. It has a wonderful logical structure which is an ideal background to build on, although the music itself is actually never in the background."

Page fell in love with the music immediately. "There is drama and tension in it. It's totally abstract and the tension is a result not of the narrative but of the energies and the moods inherent within it."

And he argues that the very rich score has jazziness in it.

The music may be minimalist, but not so Page's choreography. "It's very rich, almost overblown with activity. It's just on the edge. I know I almost overdid it. Yet there is a balance between the solo and duet parts of the work."

All of Page's work grows out of classical ballet technique. "I take the technique and bend it and stretch it. But it is [still] classical. There is hardly any floor work and the point work is there. For sure it's classical but it's very stretched."

These days Page mainly choreographs to classical music. "The Royal Opera House orchestra is a classical orchestra and that is what they play best."

"When I once tried to do something with contemporary British



The Royal Ballet's Ashley Page stretches the idea of 'classical.'

classical music they just couldn't do it.

"Anyway when I want that kind of music, I can work in other

avenues."

In the last four years Page has been regularly choreographing for various Turkish dance and ballet companies. "I've done the rock music ballets and also works for an electronic score. But now it is really classical," he says.

It's a sign of his eclectic tastes that Page recently popped in to one of London's music stores "and spent £200 just randomly passing through the racks, taking anything from Mozart and Brahms to [contemporary British classical composer] Robert Moran."

But he does not always create dances to existing scores. Page has also commissioned music for his dance works and looks forward to the year 2000 when there is a very realistic chance that he will create a new piece for the company to a newly commissioned score by John Adams.

The end is near

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

STRANGE DAYS

Directed by Kathryn Bigelow. Screenplay by James Cameron and Jay Cocks. Hebrew title: *Yamin Meshumin*. 128 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult. (ID will be checked.)

Lenny Nero — Ralph Fiennes
Lorraine Mason — Angela Bassett
Faith — Juliette Lewis
Max — Tom Sizemore

KATHRYN Bigelow's *Strange Days* takes place a few hours before the apocalypse, on the last day and night of the 20th century. In rote-out Los Angeles, cars burn in the middle of every street, cops cruise the boulevards on tanks and beat suspects in full view of the passing mobs, and sirens howl at the constant, desperate pitch of a thousand cats in heat.

The only thing that seems to unite the citizens of the sprawling, chaotic metropolis is the sickly black-green glare that glazes all of their worried faces as they dart for cover. "The issue isn't if you're paranoid," one typically cynical character explains in a line that might serve as the film's epigraph, "it's if you're paranoid enough." In other words, the nightmare LA of *Strange Days* is only a Molotov cocktail's throw from the Los Angeles of today's sound bites - the Los Angeles of Mark Furman and of Rodney King.

It's a place from which most people would long to escape, a fact exploited by the pointedly named Lenny Nero (Ralph Fiennes), an ex-cop named sad-sack pusher of illegal, virtual-reality "clips."



On the eve of the apocalypse, Ralph Fiennes and Angela Bassett are caught in a deadly maze of betrayal and murder.

When Lenny's clients are plugged into their special headsets, they're able to "experience" first hand a range of fantasies, actual happenings that have been recorded by Lenny's suppliers. The amputee can "run" again; the middle-aged man can "be" an 18-year-old girl in the shower; customers with more twisted tastes can evo "rape" and "kill."

Written by Jay Cocks and Bigelow's ex-husband James Cameron, *Strange Days* is an interesting and viscerally effective picture, though it ultimately falls victim to the familiar Catch-

22 of many movies about video culture. On the surface, the filmmakers seem to offer a critique of our society's endless hunger for steady, undemanding visual stimulation. At the same time they work like crazy to make sure that our hunger for steady, undemanding visual stimulation is sated in the course of the film.

If this sounds a bit academic and tongue-tied, it shouldn't. *Strange Days* is probably least novel as social and aesthetic commentary, and most compelling as a vivid hallucination, an intelligent blending of film noir and action movie.

The old-fashioned plot has Lenny, a dejected romantic with a five o'clock shadow, trying desperately to save his waitress ex-girlfriend (Juliette Lewis), who's named Faith, of all things, from the shadowy people he thinks want to kill her. Cool security expert Mace (Angela Bassett), his good friend, comes along for the ride and lends her karate skills whenever Lenny gets himself in a scrape.

Even if you don't share Bigelow's hysterical view of American society a few years down the information superhighway, it's hard to wiggle free from

the wrap-around pulp atmosphere of the film. *Strange Days* has a dogged, in-your-face texture, a strikingly loud soundtrack and some nauseating camera work. On a moral and even a physical level, we may find ourselves struggling to resist these techniques, resenting Bigelow for her all-out assault on our senses; still, it's difficult to turn away. The film feeds some masochistic need we have as moviegoers to be battered into passive submission.

And that, in a microchip, is the dubious achievement of *Strange Days*.

Welcome back Yoko, the granny of grunge

ELIZABETH FULLERTON
LONDON

YOKO Ono, long demonized by thousands of Beatles fans for causing the break-up of Britain's greatest pop group, is making a comeback at the age of 63.

Gone are the long bushy locks of the love-in days with John Lennon. With cropped hair and a dyed pink fringe, barking out lyrics to heavy guitar riffs, Yoko Ono is the granny of grunge.

Her album *Rising*, recorded with son Sean Ono Lennon and his band IMA, has been acclaimed by critics, much to her surprise.

"Never in a million years did I think they'd turn around," says Ono, who has been slated and ridiculed by the press for years.

The paltry turnout of just 50 people to see her latest concert in Milan suggests she still has some way to go in convincing music fans.

But she still believes the musical tide has turned. "I think this generation is going for a very far-out avant-garde kind of rock ... they are very aware of the 60s music and there's a meeting point in terms of musical tastes."

When Ono worries about releasing her most experimental tunes, her son reassures her: "It's okay now Mummy."

She says she never wanted to break up the Beatles and that it was a painful period for her, as well as for fans.

Ono may have pacified Beatles devotees last year by releasing some home-made tapes by Lennon, who was assassinated in New York in 1980, a decade after the group broke up.

To the delight of fans, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and Ringo Starr came together last November to record backing over two of Lennon's ballads "Free as a Bird" and "True Love". The singles were part of an anthology of Beatles hits, but *Rising*, which was released the same month got better reviews.

Ono would not say if she planned to release more tapes of her late husband but she did not deny she had more up her sleeve.

Ono says her own songs are inspired by a sense of end-of-century malaise: "I think there's a worldwide depression, worry, fear ... a feeling we're going towards the year 2000 but we haven't achieved as much as we wanted to in terms of bettering society and cleaning up pollution."

Her message, she says, is: "Be patient. It's going to be all right." Her newfound optimism seems a long way from the urgency of her 60s peacenik days.

Then Ono and Lennon shared their honeymoon with the world's press in a week-long lie-in in the Amsterdam Hilton, as part of a vigil for peace.

"At the time of the bed we thought 1984 would be a disaster and we thought there was going to be a third world war," she says. It was a way of promoting world peace by clowning around, with the hit song "Give peace a chance" giving their effort a serious push, she adds.

Ono is certainly no stranger to publicity. She recently tore out pages of a Bible during a concert in New York and handed them out to fans, much to the anger of church groups.

She says her gesture was intended to be a symbol for the "sharing of God's words".

Born into a wealthy banking family in Tokyo in the 30s, with a Buddhist mother and a Christian father, Yoko says she was a rebel from the start.

Her conservative father tried to discourage Ono from composing music, because he said there were no famous women composers, which showed they had no natural talent.

"John was a rebel too, that's how we got together."

They first met at an exhibition of her paintings in London. Ono was already well-established in the New York alternative art scene, making films, art and music. "Between John and me something was going on that was incredible," she says. "We were terribly shy and insecure as people, but terribly arrogant as artists."

She still lives in the apartment she shared with Lennon overlooking New York's Central Park, a stone's throw from where he was gunned down by a crazed fan.

"I feel he's still protecting us, looking over us," Lennon's widow says.

However successful she becomes, the image of Ono with Lennon at their love-in, united in their long-haired nakedness, may still prove to be the one that endures in the public's memory.

She remains unconcerned by the huge Lennon legacy hanging over her. She says simply: "I would like to be remembered as what I was, whatever that was." (Reuter)

Beit Lessin to accent the local in new year

HELEN KAYE

THE Beit Lessin Theater has an assertively pro-Israeli season.

"We are committed to producing Israeli and contemporary world drama," said general manager Zippi Pines, who was introducing the nine local and four translated plays that are spread over the next 18 months.

The season opener to September will be Shmuel Hasfari's *Mourning* which completes his trilogy. *Hameret* is in its third season. *Kiddush* was revived last year, and there are plans to perform the entire trilogy at week-ends. *Mourning* is the direct sequel to *Hameret*, and deals with the inability of a family to mourn the death of their son. Another Hasfari play, *Dayan*, about our mythic general, is scheduled for June '97.

Kfar, Yehoshua Sobol's oew play, which addresses the disintegration of the kibbutz, will open in December, and *The Fall and Rise of Avram Buskila* by Ilan Hatzor, based on Nicolai Erdman's *The Suicide*, will open next April. Other Israeli plays include *Four Women*, written and directed by Hillel Mittelpunkt, and Goren Agmon's *The Heiress*.

One Israeli play is by a new immigrant, the Serbian-born George Leibowitz, former director of the Belgrade National Theater and Serbia's most famous playwright. He is working on *The*

Doll and the Soldier, a drama about a former SS colonel on trial for war crimes and a reluctant prosecution witness.

The translated plays include A.R. Gurney's current New York hit, *Sylvia*, a very funny play about a man, a dog (Anat Waxman) and the ghost of the man's dead wife; *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy*, Woody Allen's great screenplay adapted for the stage by Avishai Milstein; and the haunting *The Kiss of the Spider Woman* - remember Bill Hurt and Raul Julia in the film? - by Manuel Pögg.

In collaboration with the Rahnowitz Foundation, the theater has instituted an ongoing workshop program with four young playwrights following script submissions by 27 new-generation wannabes.

"The audience is hungry for a new generation," said BL's Moti Lerner, "and it's our job to develop them."

Since Pines took his theatrical helm two-and-a-half years ago, Beit Lessin has had no deficits and a subscriber list that has gone from 6,300 in 1993 to 15,000 last year. The '96 budget is NIS 18.95 million of which NIS 6.9m. comes from the government and NIS 2.9m. from the Histadrut. Last year, playing to almost full houses in four venues every night, the theater's earned income was 61 percent of its NIS 17m. budget.

JSO director goes out on a limb to plan the upcoming season

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

THE forthcoming Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra season is one of the most daring, intriguing and unconventional any Israeli orchestra has presented in years. Of the orchestra's current 1,650 subscribers more than 50 percent have already renewed their subscriptions for next season.

In contrast to the belief that orchestras should play what the audience wants - above all Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms and their 18th- and 19th-century peers - JSO music director David Shallon has decided to opt for a totally different approach. As we approach the end of the century, Shallon is offering subscribers a musical portrait of the past 100 years.

This means music by such composers as Schoenberg, Berg, Part, Gioacchino, Kodaly, Lutoslawski and Zimmermann as well as contemporary Israeli composers as Oded Zehavi and Haim Perlman.

JSO director general Zusia Rodan does not think that the orchestra is taking such a big risk and is willingly backing his music director. For example the season opens with Christian Tetzlaff playing the Berg Violin Concerto. "This of course can be a lethal combination for the box office which is why the second part of the program features Mahler's Ninth Symphony," Rodan explains.

"Every time we play Berg or Schoenberg we have Brahms or Tchaikovsky for example as the other part of the program. There is only one entirely 20th-century program, featuring music by Schoenberg, Britten and Shostakovich. But here the soloist is bass Paata Burchuladze and I hope he will fill the house."

Soloists are a delicate issue with the JSO.

"We don't have the means and the connections to bring the Israel Philharmonic-type of soloists," says Rodan. "So our mandate is to

bring young and upcoming stars before they are sought after by the major orchestras and their fees escalate. When we brought pianist Olli Mustonen no one knew about him here. Now he is already playing with the IPO."

What the JSO cannot offer in regular concerts it is able to present next season in recitals. And the upcoming JSO recital series features piano recitals by Daniel Barenboim and Radu Lupu as well as recitals with Burchuladze and a joint evening with clarinetist Sharon Kam, pianist Iamar Golan and soprano Sharon Rostorf.

"We want to offer our subscribers a large attractive musical season," says Rodan. "The recitals, the regular concerts and the Liturgical concerts are all part of a season which I'm sure will be quite wonderful." And there will also be a special concert with Joshua Rifkin, music director of the Bach Ensemble of New York.

Rodan argues that the time has come to help younger audiences establish a somewhat different

musical taste: "The youngsters who start frequenting concert halls do not necessarily want just Beethoven and Mozart, if at all. Maybe Berg will be much more attractive to them. We are not trying to educate our audience, that's definitely not the point. But I do know that if we follow in the footsteps of other orchestras we are doomed to fail."

"So we are trying to present a little taste of different things. Actually I think this is what each and every orchestra should do but it's not my job to tell other directors what to do."

The 1996/97 JSO season opens in October and concludes next July with an all-Richard Strauss program which will also be performed in Tel Aviv. Both these and four of the orchestra's 16 programs will be led by Shallon, whose contract runs until the end of the 1997/98 season. Other conductors include Yuri Aronovitch, Eri Klas, Peter Maag and Aldo Ceccato. Among the soloists we can look forward to hearing violinist Tibeta Zimmermann, cellist Maria Kliegel and pianist Imogen Cooper among many others.

Sex Pistols out-punked in Finland

THE Sex Pistols, punk rock anti-heroes of the 1970s, played in public for the first time in 18 years last Friday but threatened to leave the stage to the face of a barrage of plastic bottles thrown at them.

"Stop, stop, stop," singer Johnny Rotten shouted at an audi-

ence of 15,000 Finns celebrating the midsummer festival in traditional drunken style.

The 40-year-old singer, whose real name is John Lydon, said he would take the Sex Pistols off the stage unless the audience stopped throwing bottles.

(Reuter)

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The Cairo reality

DESPITE Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's repeatedly stating that the convening of the Cairo summit was not meant as a threat to Israel's new government, it is clear from the meeting's final communiqué that the Arab leaders have few olive branches to extend to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. While it would be naive to expect an Arab summit to call for anything less than a full Israeli withdrawal from the territories captured in the Six Day War - a war, lest anyone need reminding, started by the Arabs and fueled by their determination to wipe Israel off the map - the communiqué also warned that if these maximalist territorial demands were not met, then "[this] would lead to a setback in the peace process, with all the dangers and repercussions that implies, taking the region back to the cycle of tension. The Arab states would be forced to reconsider the steps taken towards Israel in the framework of the peace process [and] the government of Israel alone would bear full responsibility."

The threatening tone of this statement does not augur well for serious negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors. A peace process needs partners who are committed to reaching a mutually satisfactory final goal; there can be no progress if one side sets down its toughest demands and insists on all or nothing.

Indeed, Mubarak might have been more reassuring as to the summit's intentions were it not for Egypt's own poor record on normalization with Israel. The term "cold peace" has become synonymous with the state of Israeli-Egyptian relations. Despite a steady flow of Israeli tourists to Egypt, few Egyptians have visited Israel. Trade and direct investment remain limited, and Egypt has worked strenuously to condemn and vilify Israel at various international forums. The one time that Mubarak set foot on Israeli soil, for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's funeral, he took great pains to emphasize that it was not an official visit. If Mubarak truly wants to encourage Israel to believe that treaties with Arab regimes are worth undertaking and implementing, he can begin by improving his own record in this regard.

The summit's interference in Israel's relations with Turkey, in its call to Ankara to reconsider its military ties with Jerusalem, is also regrettable. The military agreement be-

tween the two countries, which allows Israel Air Force planes to conduct training exercises in Turkish airspace, does not endanger Arab security and should not merit a mention in an Arab summit communiqué.

It is also difficult to view certain other elements of the summit as anything but ironic. How can one take seriously the call to combat terrorism when many of the summit's participants are among the world's biggest bankrollers of political violence? The most active terrorist groups in the region, such as Hizbullah and Islamic Jihad, receive Syrian support and encouragement. Libya remains a pariah state for its involvement in the bombing of the Pan Am flight over Lockerbie. Hamas spokesmen continue to operate openly in Amman, the Jordanian capital, and Jordanian parliamentarians recently joined a clerical edict permitting suicide bomb attacks against Israelis.

The divisions in the Arab world were highlighted by the summit's attempt to foster an image of Arab unity. The non-invitation of Iraq pointed to the biggest schism facing the Arabs. Syrian leader Hafez Assad's meetings with Jordan's King Hussein, whose rule he has consistently attempted to undermine for over two decades, and with PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, who he had refused to see for over two-and-a-half years, served as an unintended reminder of the vast divisions that remain among three of Israel's most important neighbors. It was only last week that Jordanian spokesmen were threatening to reveal Syria's involvement in planned terror attacks in Jordan. And, as the US State Department's recent report on terrorism noted, Assad harbors in Damascus some of the most violent Palestinian rejectionist groups, many of whom detest Arafat.

The summit should also serve as a clear reminder to the West of the archaic and inherently undemocratic nature of the Arab regimes. It is indeed rare in this age of democratic upheaval that the world is witness to such a gathering of sultans, emirs, monarchs and dictators, most of whose political systems are throwbacks to a bygone era. While numerous non-democratic governments in Africa, eastern Europe, Asia and South America have been swept aside in recent years, the Arab regimes remain the last great outpost of despotism in the modern world.



Premier, not dictator

THE revolt by the Likud's truncated Knesset faction against the prime minister's attempted diktat regarding the choice of next Knesset Speaker gives one cause to be optimistic about the way our new political system will develop following the application of the direct election law.

Last week Netanyahu attempted to postpone the speaker's election for at least several weeks so that his personal candidate for the post, Ovadia Eli - who didn't make it to the Knesset as a result of the Likud's slaughter at the polls - could be coopted to the Knesset as a result of the adoption of the Norwegian law. Under that law, all cabinet members who are MKs, with the exception of deputy prime ministers, would resign from the Knesset and be replaced by the candidates next in line on their respective party lists.

The Likud faction, which quite rightly rejected Netanyahu's demand, is slated to meet today to select a Speaker.

It is far from certain that the Norwegian law will be passed. But there is another objection to the entire exercise: the prime minister, with his significantly augmented powers, simply has no business intervening in the selection of the Knesset Speaker.

The most urgent thing our political system needs right now is a new balance between the powers of the prime minister and the executive arm of government which is more than ever dependent on him, and those of the legislature.

Many critics of direct election are claiming that it has failed its first test. They cite as evidence the strengthening of the small parties, contrary to the expectation that the two major ruling parties would be the ones benefiting from the new system.

A weakening of the smaller parties and their ability to dictate the choice of prime minister and the identity of the government was

YOSEF GOELL

indeed positioned as one of the side benefits of the new system. This has clearly not materialized.

But it gets forgotten that the main purpose of the new law - removing the choice of the prime minister from the hands of the party horse-traders and putting it into the hands of the voters - has been fully vindicated.

It should also be remembered that the reason the new system was adopted was as a reaction to Shimon Peres's 1990 "dirty politics." The essential thing at that time was restoring a sense of legitimacy to the badly-tarnished post of prime minister.

THAT SAID it was never intended to create a prime minister-dictator who would combine the powers of a quasi-president with those of a parliamentary prime minister controlling his party faction in the legislature through the mechanism of party discipline.

One of the main weaknesses of the parliamentary system is that the theory of a legislature supreme over the government which is chosen from within its own ranks is reversed in practice. The prime minister and the ministers who are the leaders of the ruling coalition partners in effect totally control the legislature by imposing the whip of party discipline over their respective party backbenchers. In such systems there are few if any checks and balances.

But the basis of even a quasi-presidential system such as the one we have now embarked on is

that parliament has real powers to serve as a check on the executive. Hopefully, this is what should be developing with our Knesset now, for the decision on the direct election of the prime minister was only half a reform. It must be supplemented by the strengthening of the Knesset.

The Likud faction's declaration of independence over the choice of Speaker is the first step in such a direction. Another should be increased Knesset independence in choosing its own committee chairmen.

One thing the Likud MKs resent - quite reasonably - is that not only was their faction decimated to make Netanyahu's election as prime minister possible, he has also given most of the committee chairmanships away to his coalition partners.

The prime minister has every right to give his religious coalition partners more cabinet posts than they deserve, but his allocating Knesset committee chairmanships should be beyond the pale.

The possible adoption of the Norwegian law and the proposed expansion of the number of ministers beyond 18, will require amending the Basic Law: the Government.

In the debate over such a constitutional amendment it is essential that the Knesset arrogate to itself the power to approve the appointment of cabinet ministers, as is the case with the US Senate. This is already being discussed.

One of the more unsavory aspects of Prime Minister Netanyahu's cabinet is the unprecedented number of ministers with criminal investigations and indictments hovering over their heads. Such a situation requires preliminary public hearings by a Knesset committee and a full Knesset vote on cabinet appointments.

The writer comments on public affairs.

Direct election was only half a reform. The other half: a stronger Knesset

How about it, Arik?

ALEXANDER ZVIELLI

ARIEL Sharon said on Friday night that he would not join the government if the Infrastructure Ministry to be created for him was a "make-believe" portfolio.

The Israeli public - on the left and the right - knows Sharon as a leader whose extraordinary energy, courage and devotion to the nation's cause deserve recognition.

Great inducements would be necessary to force Netanyahu's coalition partners to yield significant chunks of their new domains to a new Sharon ministry. But there is another possibility.

Hasn't the time come to remove two vital areas - water and gas - from perfunctory bureaucratic control and ministerial infighting? Surely Sharon ought to be encouraged to show his mettle in tackling these two problematic areas on which we depend today, and will certainly depend even more tomorrow?

There are several schools of thought on the water issue. All agree, however, that it is a vital concern.

We are facing a severe water shortage, yet political exigencies have led us to hand some of our precious water over to Jordan and the Palestinians (and who knows if it will stop there?).

There was talk about importing water from Turkey, but that doesn't seem so simple, in spite of our closer ties with Turkey. It seems more like a case of importing polar ice to Saudi Arabia. Water is like gold in our region, and Turkey is embroiled over water with Syria.

Necessity has created the opportunity for what may initially seem like some hard decisions. But we have a powerful personality in need of a job; and we have a job for him.

A separate Ministry of Water could control waste, prices, current supply and future planning. This cannot be postponed, or dealt with as merely one section of a ministry.

Can the Agriculture Ministry control cotton-growing, which uses up huge amounts of water? A Water Ministry under a full-time minister likely could. And only Sharon could persuade the cabinet to allot more funds for purifying sewage water for general use.

THERE IS a Ministry of Energy and a Ministry of Transport. And yet all drivers know that our gas supply is scarcely under any kind of control - not as regards price, quality, or the proper supervision of gas stations.

We need a powerful personality like Sharon to be minister of water and gas

Israelis often pay for gas they don't in fact get, and squander millions of shekels daily running new cars within a short period by using gas that isn't what it's purported to be. Again the whole situation needs a strong hand, someone who can overcome sectoral interests and give the stables a thorough cleaning.

Do we have sufficient gas for a national emergency? No one really knows. By taking responsibility for the two crucial areas of gas and water, Sharon could gain Israelis' eternal gratitude.

Personal prestige is indivisible from politics, and Israeli politics in particular - and Sharon would clearly like several departments in his new ministry of infrastructure.

But it is vital that really important issues - and gas and water are two - receive maximum time, energy, and consideration. In other words, a full-time minister. There are too many ministries sharing responsibility for issues that are of overweening importance.

The public is well aware of the failure of inter-ministerial committees to deal adequately with such subjects. The appointed representatives of the various ministries too often engage in personal rivalry, trying to pin blame for failure on each other.

Only a single personality with ministerial power can achieve a total breakthrough and be able to stand up to criticism.

At the same time, the Israeli public will gain what it surely deserves.

Sharon has shown himself to be a bulldozer, a man who can cut through red tape, an achiever well able to solve problems which would otherwise sink into a bureaucratic quagmire, or get brushed under the carpet indefinitely.

Ariel Sharon as minister of water and gas. How about it, Arik?

The writer is a freelancer.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

WAY OUT OF PLACE

Sir, - I am not a Likud supporter and certainly bold no brief for Ariel Sharon - who to my mind should be denied any position that puts his hands on squanderable public funds. However, your editorial writer's use of the epithet "characteristic penulance" to describe David Levy's behavior on the day that the new government was sworn in seems to be way out of place. ("A Disappointing Start," June 19).

Bibi Netanyahu, in his almost obscene ambition to become prime minister, trampled on his own party and promised all that he had to give at least twice over. Begin, Meridor and Levy have shown that the prime minister could not kill loyalty among party colleagues. Their willingness to gamble their own careers rather than forsake friends and allies should serve as an object lesson to Netanyahu as he begins his term of office.

As for the *Jerusalem Post*, I had hoped that the departure of David Bar-Ilan to the prime minister's office would have made it possible for whoever writes the editorials to show, if not more understanding, then at least more grace and charity than was contained in the unworthy attacks on David Levy and Shimon Peres.

L. YUVAL
Ramat Hasharon.

ALBANIA'S JEWS

Sir, - In Tom Gross's otherwise excellent travel article of May 10 on Albania, it was stated "Albanians are universally proud of their record in World War II, when not a single Jew was handed over to the Nazis (although 400 of the Yugoslav and German Jews who had sought refuge in the country were captured by the Germans and deported to Bergen Belsen). In fact, this repeats a common error made under the entry for "Albania" in publications of the World Jewish Congress and elsewhere and based on previously inaccurate information.

Since Albania opened up its borders only five years ago, important information has come to light. According to new eyewitness reports from Albanian recent immigrants now residing in Israel, all those Jews who had sought refuge in Albania as well as all the members of the Albanian Jewish community survived the Holocaust, with only one exception: five members of the Arditi family, the sole Jewish family who resided in Shkodra, were captured by the German and deported to Pristina, Kosovo (one of them survived). Pristina was only technically part of Albania at the time (1944). It had been annexed under an agreement between the German and Italians from the neighboring Albanian populated province of Kosovo in Yugoslavia and does not lie within the pre- or postwar borders of Albania.

Due to the brave and outstanding actions of the Albanian people, no Jews were deported from Albania proper (except the Arditi family), a record unique in Nazi-occupied Europe.

RAPHAEL M. FAUST,
Honorary Consul of Albania in Israel
Tel Aviv.

CRUEL COUNTRY

Sir, - The letter from Cary Burton, Jerusalem (New York) in your issue of June 14 made me sit up and take notice.

In seems I live in a country where "one day's experience can include being ripped off by a cab driver, being cut in front of in line, being witness to macho Israelis swaggering around... stonings at the Wall, prayers at the Wall which flout Torah values, women who are dressed as prostitutes, etc. etc." *ad nauseam*. All in one day.

Mr. Burton as an observant, and may I say sanctimonious, Jew urges us to bring love, respect and dignity back to our Jewish nation. Now I was not aware that these commendable characteristics had left us. In 30-odd years here, I have been under the impression that Israelis take care of one another, that volunteering is one of their finest attributes and that our young men and women do a magnificent job of guarding us.

Presumably when everything gets too much for him, Mr. Burton rushes back to the purity and sanctity of New York where none of the above bad things occurs.

Kfar Sava. MINNIE SUSSER

SYRIAN RESPONSIBILITY

Sir, - In 1963, president Kennedy informed the world that a Cuban missile attack against the US would be considered an attack by the Soviet Union with the US responding to it with its armed forces.

When I was in the State Department, it was considered that Assad controlled not only Syria but Lebanon as well and my friends inform me the same applies even now. Assad supports Hizbullah and suicide missions, and understands only force.

My friend Mr. Netanyahu should inform the Syrians that Israel wants peace, but any attack against Israel from Syria (irrespective of who did it) or from territory controlled or occupied by it will be considered as an attack on Israel by Syria with Israel having the right to respond against any target including Damascus.

I believe all those Hizbullah attacks would stop if and when military camps next to Damascus are annihilated.

DAVID KORN,
Former Special Assistant to Secretary Haig
Washington, D.C.

EXCELLENT CHOICE

Sir, - For the many thousands of us English-speaking residents who rely on *The Jerusalem Post* as the primary source of information and analysis, the leave of absence of Executive Editor David Bar-Ilan will leave a deep void. After a glance at the headlines, many of us turned immediately to the editorials for a clear and accurate analysis of events. *Eye on the Media* served as our ombudsman for the many inaccuracies and distortions of the world's media.

On the other hand, the prime minister could not have made a better choice for head of policy planning and communications in the Prime Minister's Office.

Mr. Bar-Ilan will be making personal sacrifices to serve his country. The sacrifice of his readers will be offset in knowing that a national position is in good hands.

ARNOLD SULLUM, President
Israel District, ZOA
Jerusalem.

ASTONISHING

Sir, - I have before me Haim Shapiro's article of June 7, "Ties with Vatican not dependent on peace process," where the Pappal Nuncio, Archbishop Andrea de Montezemolo, is quoted as saying that the Catholic Church has no power as a political of financial entity.

What an astonishing statement! This may not be bow the nuncio wishes the outsider to view his church, but its maxim, *Semper Adem* ("Always the same") could never be more apposite.

GRUFFYDD THOMAS
Ponarddulas, Wales.

Handwritten note: *אריאל שרון*

هنا من الامم

Old Guard

Even in Slow Motion, It's a Russian Revolution

By MICHAEL SPECTER

WHEN the Soviet Union collapsed five years ago, many people — not just Americans — assumed that tomorrow had finally come to Russia. Just as Marxists view the withering of the state as a natural process of history, reformers regarded the end of Communist rule here as the final turn to the West. They were wrong, of course, just as all those from Peter the Great on who would see Russia Westernized have always been wrong. But they weren't that wrong. Last week, despite fears of civil unrest, voter fraud and worse, 75 million citizens cast their ballots in independent Russia's first popular presidential election, which even fringe opposition groups acknowledge was free and fair. And on Thursday, under the kind of shadowy circumstances that have made the Kremlin an unparalleled touchstone of intrigue for hundreds of years, President Boris N. Yeltsin fired half of his top advisers at the insistence of the other half. Only in Russia could a palace purge like that have democrats cheering in the streets.

Give It Time

Watching the protracted and painful rebirth of this vast land is difficult for everybody. The place just doesn't fit any of the good-government notions of what a democracy is supposed to look like. The media were totally rigged to support Mr. Yeltsin. It was nearly impossible to find on any wall in Moscow a poster of the Communist leader, Gennadi A. Zyuganov. Television was shameless in its endless attacks on the Communist past. But 20 years ago ward heelers from New York to Chicago got paid good money to keep the faces of rival candidates out of view, too. So Russia is not a textbook democracy yet. It won't be one next year either. It may never happen. But there is still a revolution going on here right now, it's just not the type that happens in a week or a year. You can't even televise it, because this revolution will last at least a genera-



Last Sunday, a soldier held a ballot box as a member of the local electoral commission helped two women cast ballots in the yard of their home in Shetrukovo, a village near Moscow.

In Israel, Fears for Reform in Judaism

By JOEL GREENBERG

AS Israel's newly elected parliament met last week, a small group of demonstrators carrying balloons gathered nearby to object to the increased influence of Israel's rabbinical establishment. Their placards said: "Judaism Yes, Coercion No." Some of the protesters were civil liberties advocates, whose objections to the power of Israel's Orthodox rabbis are well known. But the group was notable because it was led by Jews who regularly practice their religion — members of the Reform and Conservative movements, which are tiny in Israel. These groups feel as threatened as do nonpracticing Jews by the new Government's plans to extend Orthodox restrictions over areas of public and private life. Agreements that Benjamin Netanyahu, the new Israeli leader, has signed with his religious coalition partners, and cabinet posts he has awarded them, indicate that his Government will substantially strengthen the already broad authority of Orthodox Judaism in Israel. The problem for the Conservative and Reform movements is that this will be done at the expense of their own influence. Before the election, they had been making inroads by presenting themselves as alternatives to Orthodox Judaism for the vast majority of Israeli Jews, who practice their religion irregularly or not at all.

Change of Pace

So the advent of Mr. Netanyahu's Government may not only change the pace of movement toward peace with the Arabs. It could also slow a trend toward religious pluralism in Israel. American Jews have a broad range of alternatives among congregations they can join. But the options in Israel are very different. Although they share Jewish traditions



Rina Castelnuovo for The New York Times. A Reform rabbi with her student.

that have become part of Israeli national culture, most Israelis do not regularly observe religious rituals. They are commonly called "secular" Jews, unaffiliated with any organized branch of Judaism. By far the predominant branch of Judaism here is the Orthodox, but it embraces only an estimated 20 percent of Israel's 4.5 million Jews. In Israel's early years, Orthodox Judaism was virtually the only organized branch of the religion here, but recently the non-Orthodox movements have been able draw more Jews into ritual observance. Today, the Conservative movement says it has 20,000 congregation members in Israel and 50,000 followers who have participated in its religious or educational activities. The Reform movement says it has 5,000 congregants and 15,000 participants in its programs. The movements run seminars, schools, day-care centers and summer camps. They also offer religious services like marriage and conversion, but the state does not recognize them as legally valid. Such services have become a pressing need for many of the 700,000 immigrants

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Into Africa Why what goes on there matters to America.

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Introspection and Repression Indonesians reveal as little as possible to Americans.

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Ward of the State Ella Fitzgerald's darkest secret.

By Nina Bernstein

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Why So Resilient?

A President Who Can Absorb Body Blows

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON It's probably the most puzzling question in the 1996 Presidential campaign, and one that is no doubt confounding Bob Dole: Why is it that as more and more whiffs of scandal have swirled around President Clinton, he has invariably emerged unscathed in the polls? No President in modern history has demonstrated such resiliency in the face of one ominous headline after another: A sexual harassment lawsuit by a former state employee in Arkansas; the suicide of Vincent Foster, the deputy White House counsel; the resignation of Mike Espy as Agriculture Secretary amid allegations of impropriety; the White House travel office debacle and, of course, the Whitewater land deal, which has dogged the First Family for years. Lately, the swirl has more resembled a twister. Nine days ago, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation denounced the White House for improperly obtaining F.B.I. files on more than 400 people, many of whom worked for the Bush Administration. Embarrassing hearings on the matter got under way last week on Capitol Hill. On Whitewater, Senate Republicans issued a blistering report accusing Hillary Rodham Clinton and White House aides of impeding their inquiry. To cap it off, Federal prosecutors described Bruce Lindsey, a close adviser to the President and one of his closest friends, as a conspirator in an illegal scheme involving Mr. Clinton's last reelection drive as Governor of Arkansas.

Keeps on Ticking

But by the end of the week, the polls showed not the slightest erosion in Mr. Clinton's double-digit edge over Mr. Dole, the presumed Republican nominee. An ABC News-Washington Post poll conducted June 14-18 found that 55 percent of respondents would vote for Mr. Clinton, while 35 percent favored Mr. Dole. And new polls in two large states, Florida and California, found Mr. Clinton comfortably ahead. If Ronald Reagan was the Teflon President, then Bill Clinton is the Timex President: He takes his lickings, keeps on ticking.

"To have withstood so many legitimate questions about one's conduct without the public appearing at this point to take notice is a puzzling phenomenon," said Stanley A. Renshon, a psychoanalyst and political scientist at the City University of New York. "He seems to be doing everything possible to test the limits of the public's patience."

Scandals aside, Mr. Clinton's popularity no doubt has been shored up by factors that have traditionally immunized incumbents past: a relatively robust economy and encouraging quality-of-life measures like the declining crime rate.

But ultimately, the cumulative effect of so many accusations and disclosures could become too much for voters to bear. And

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Steven Crowley/The New York Times. The Clintons last week.

The World

A Few Good Reasons to Start Caring About Africa

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

WHEN Central African Republic and the United States and France mounted separate military operations this spring to extract their citizens from crisis-stricken African countries within one month of each other the question that underpinned much of the commentary on the news was: Why bother with a continent that never seems able to find its way?

From the perspective of the West, which is focused on crises elsewhere, Africa in the 1990's has virtually become a bad word, synonymous with Burundi, Rwanda, Liberia, Somalia — horrible crises that defy solution by well-intentioned outsiders.

But for Africans who watched American Marines pull Westerners out of the chaos of Liberia, or Legionnaires do the same in this former French colony, the question to ask was rather different: Why, many wondered, after the West's lengthy, almost obsessive involvement with Africa, are so many voices suddenly calling for something that sounds like abandonment?

It was not so long ago, after all, that Europe and America were sinking billions into African countries, hoping to lock up mineral wealth and markets, and making bedfellows of some of the worst dictators of recent times in the name of battling Communism.

Groping, Yes. But Hopeful.

Where the West sees a glass half-empty and draining fast, for Africans the rapid spread of competitive elections throughout the continent in this decade, the sweeping economic reforms that have brought renewed growth to most of the continent, and the triumphs of peace in places like South Africa, Mozambique and Ethiopia mean that the glass is half full and perhaps rising — highly televised wars and famines or no.

This is not the only difference of perspective between a pessimistic West and an Africa still groping for solutions but remaining hopeful. Addressing Africa's chronic economic weakness and political instability requires a searching examination by all of how things got this way.

For their part, Africans have largely abandoned the old diatribes in which they would blame outsiders for every ill; instead, to a remarkable degree they have become brutally honest in examining their own failings in nearly four decades of independence.

Almost simultaneously, however, it has become a fashion in Western capitals to pretend that Africa's problems are uniquely the product of the continent's own failings. Suddenly the self-comforting myth of the White Man's Burden has given way to an even more ahistorical belief: that Europe left Africa in good shape at independence. To believe that is to ask the next question: What is



Liberia's crisis has spread gloom about West Africa. Here, scarecrow soldiers set up by bored peacekeepers.

wrong with these people if they can't make modernity work?

Jim Hoagland, the foreign affairs columnist at The Washington Post, wrote of an editorial meeting in which one participant suggested that "the way to deal with Africa was to build a fence around the continent and then peek in 100 years later to see if anything had improved." A recent column by William Pfaff, who writes for The Los Angeles Times, meanwhile, took the other extreme, saying that Africa must be placed under some new form of international trusteeship until its immense problems can be worked out.

Not that either approach would work, of course. For a host of reasons, from emigration to epidemics, ignoring Africa and its problems would almost certainly backfire. And there is a moral argument: Africa has contributed about 12 percent of the United States' present population, with deep influence on its economy and culture; such ties cannot be ignored. As for trusteeship, the suggestion falls

to ask why, after over a century of miserably presiding over Africa's destiny, the West is any more qualified to do so again today. Nor does it ask how Africans themselves might feel.

In any event, in assuming that Africa was well prepared for independence, both views betray the fund of ignorance that surrounds Africa and prevents even the well-meaning from exploring realistic ways of engaging it. A clearer reading of history would go like this:

After centuries of the Atlantic slave trade, which depleted the continent of millions of its strongest sons and daughters, colonialism, begun in earnest only about 100 years ago, was an affair of forced labor and captive supplies and markets for Europe. Preparation for independence was so secondary it could barely be called an afterthought. Chad, which at independence in 1960 had two and a half times as much territory as its French colonial master, boasted only three secondary schools. Europe's treatment of much of Africa in the inde-

pendence period can hardly be called an improvement. Many of Africa's worst dictators (some still with us) were the creatures of outside powers more eager for malleable allies than for fathers of independence.

Americans, who never colonized Africa, will rightly wonder: Why is this our problem? Liberia, although its origins 150 years ago as a colony of freed American slaves are unique, is a good place to start. As much as United Fruit in Central America, the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company has dominated its economy and politics for much of the period since the 1920's. More recently, to secure intelligence and communications assets in the country, Washington poured in more than \$500 million in aid in the 1980's, as Liberia was being destroyed by Samuel K. Doe, one of West Africa's bloodiest dictators.

The links of history don't go back nearly as far, but equally grim stories can be told of American involvement in long-troubled countries like Zaire and Angola.

Business Opportunities

Rather than simply seeking to apportion blame, however, many advocates of a reassessment of American ties with Africa say Washington should be prospecting for mutually profitable ways of dealing with it.

If the French and British rarely stop to ask the question, "Does Africa matter?" it is because their business people have long known what the late Commerce Secretary, Ronald H. Brown, was preaching to American companies shortly before his death: If the risks of doing business are higher than in most places, the rewards, in the form of average corporate profit margins of 25 percent, are the highest in the world.

In a recent study, Salih Booker, Africa Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, found that for all the despair about Africa, southern Africa's \$7 billion in trade with the United States in 1994 roughly equaled America's total trade with all of the former Soviet countries. North African trade surpassed all of this country's commerce with Eastern Europe, and West Africa trailed that amount by only a small margin.

Paradoxically, just when Africa presents the richest opportunities, Americans, who account for only about 7 percent of the world's trade with the continent, seem strongly deterred by the images that steadily stream from a handful of traumatized lands.

"The United States runs a trade deficit with the continent, while most of the European allies run a surplus," said Mr. Booker, who added that until this year, Africa was the only region of the world for which the United States had no official trade policy.

"The U.S. could have a much bigger share of African business if it worked at it," he said. "This would mean more development and stability for Africa, but it would also mean jobs here at home. Isn't that what foreign policy is about?"

Introspection and Repression

Why Indonesia Isn't Talking

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

GEN. JOHN M. SHALIKASHVILI, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a historic visit last month to Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation, the country with the world's largest Muslim population and a regional military power with a troublesome reputation in human rights.

The first visit of any American in his position was news in Asia. It went practically unnoticed in the United States. But then, so does Indonesia.

With important political events unfolding in Indonesia, where demonstrations over the last few days brought violence to the streets, West-

The Javanese know Americans don't know them. And that's fine with them.

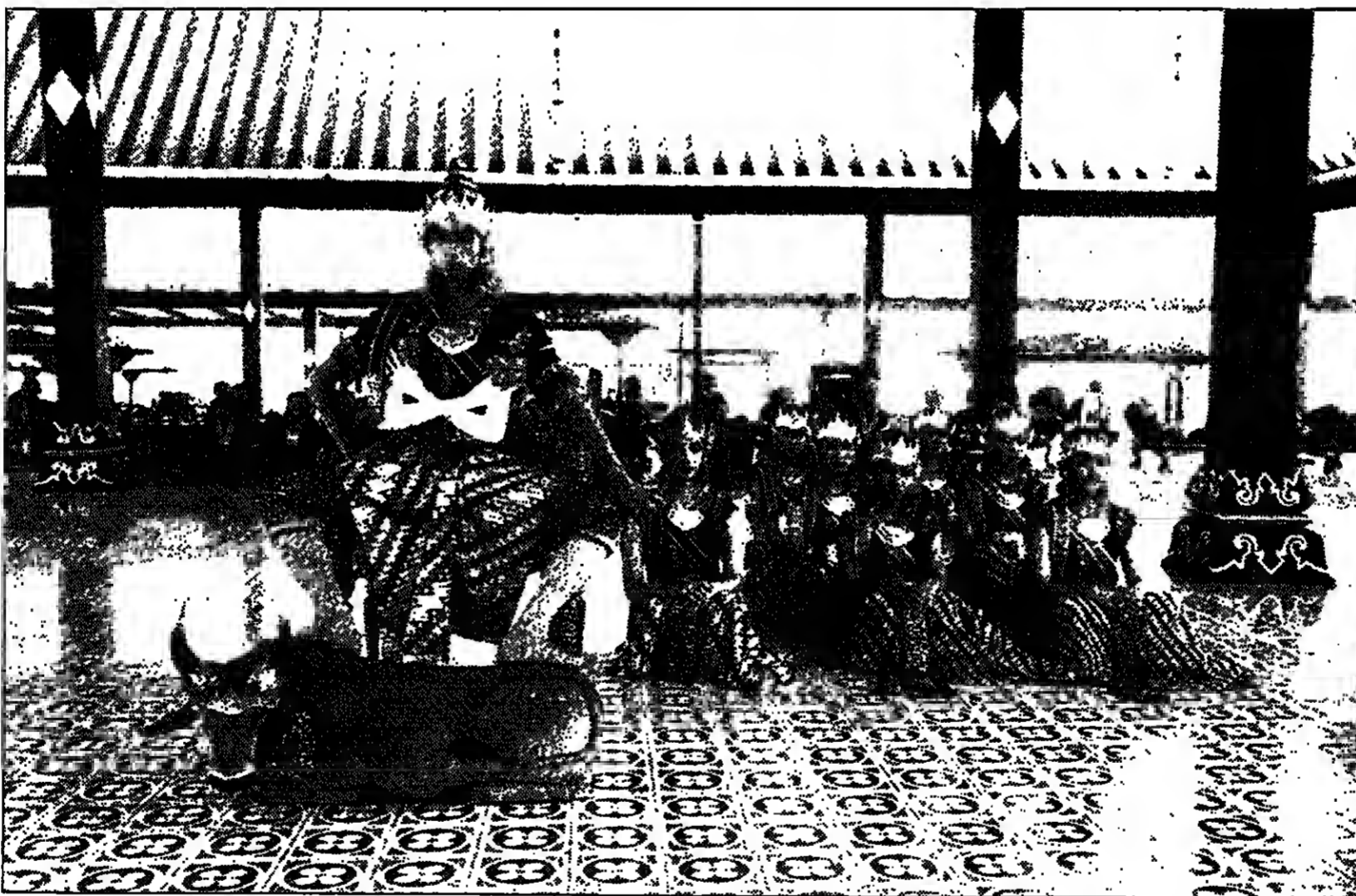
erners have almost no context in which to place this news.

John H. McGlynn, one of the few Americans living there who is not in diplomacy, oil or mining, remembers encountering the void. The scholar and translator recalled that more than 20 years ago, at the University of Wisconsin, he discovered that there were "five million-plus volumes in the library, and only about five books on Indonesia."

"That situation hasn't changed that much," said Mr. McGlynn, only half-joking, explaining recently why he and a group of Indonesian writers in Jakarta set up the Lontar Foundation in 1987 to translate into English the poetry, stories and essays of these unknown people. "Given the size of this country and its population there is an amazing disparity in the information that's available on Indonesia today."

Nearly 200 million Indonesians, extraordinary in their cultural diversity, live on thousands of islands stretching from the Indian Ocean to the South Pacific, across not only time zones but also ecological divides. Smoking volcanoes, rare animals, sultans' palaces, mesmerizing gamelan music and puppet theaters, a fast-growing economy that has transformed city skylines — no dearth of attractions here.

So why does every Indonesian who ventures to the United States have a



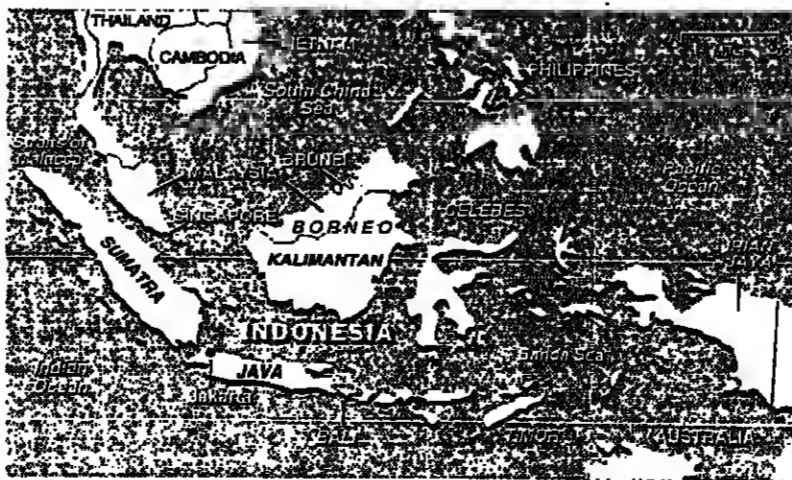
The Javanese, who dominate political and cultural life, have a complex social system that fosters distrust of outsiders. Above, a court dance in Java.

hard time explaining where and what Indonesia is? And how come tourists can spend a vacation in Bali and never know they are in Indonesia?

In a word, say Indonesians, the answer may be Java. Not the coffee — or the computer language — but the island.

The Javanese, an introspective people with an intensely complex language and an arcane social system built around the courts of sultans, account for more than half of Indonesia's people and about 100 percent of its reticence, says Goenawan Mohamad, a writer and editor of Indonesia's most respected news magazine, Tempo, which has been struggling to publish since the government closed it down in 1994. To be Javanese (as he is) means never promoting yourself, your restaurant, your talent or whatever, he said. Bad form.

This drives a lot of other Indonesians to despair. A.A. Navis, a



novelist and historian on the neighboring island of Sumatra, says the Javanese have failed to create a positive image or promote Indonesia, in contrast to the Malaysians, who have tirelessly boosted the culture and economy of their country, whose people are closely related ethnically to

many Indonesians. Mr. Navis is a Minangkabau, people known for their devoutly Islamic yet matrilineal culture in which women own the property and enjoy a social stature unique in the Muslim world. He says that many Indonesians do not share Javanese inhibi-

died in April of a heart attack. She and their six children had by most accounts amassed huge fortunes, fueling public resentment. But even if events conspire to drive Mr. Suharto from the scene, would Indonesia be that different?

All around the country, people say that the Javanese-dominated establishment has been deaf to criticism. Under Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, Indonesia cast its lot with

Suharto's main claim to foreign recognition is the brutal occupation of East Timor.

third-world radicals, alienating Western nations. Mr. Suharto, a consummate Javanese, is best known by many foreigners for the brutal military occupation of the former Portuguese territory of East Timor, which began in 1975, and his subsequent refusal to loosen the occupation by Javanese soldiers who have killed many Timorese.

Java's and perhaps Indonesia's distance from the larger world may be as much spiritual as it is geographical, political or military, judged by the poetry of some of its leading writers. If we find Indonesians aloof and incomprehensible, they often seem overwhelmed, deeply alienated and sometimes repelled by Western culture. They do not emigrate in significant numbers or overstay visas when they travel. They do not seem to crave recognition abroad.

A few years ago, Mr. McGlynn's foundation collected Indonesians' impressions of the United States, many of them unsettling, in a book called "On Foreign Shores." One of the poets, Ajip Rosidi, reacted to New York in a poem titled "Manhattan Sonnet."

*Is it within these strong and rigid walls
one's sense of safety nestles?
All I find here is vigilance, the
source of apprehension.*

His compatriot Subagio Sastrowardoyo wrote about a city "where life is cheap." New York's greed, he said, "has made this place too confined for prayer or a human voice." All told, they'd rather be in Indonesia.

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Ideas & Trends

Promises We've Heard Before

By ADAM BRYANT

A PLANE crashes and the public learns that even before the accident the Federal Aviation Administration had been concerned about safety problems at the airline. The F.A.A. orders better oversight of maintenance contractors, and there are calls for fundamental change in the agency's mission.

Sound familiar? It's the scene that has played out since the May 11 ValuJet crash, culminating last week with the Transportation Secretary, Federico F. Peña, saying that he would ask Congress to simplify the F.A.A.'s mission to focus on safety.

But it sounds familiar for another reason. History is repeating itself. After an Arrow Air charter plane crashed in December 1985 in Gander, Newfoundland, killing 248 United States servicemen, the public learned that the F.A.A. had barred Arrow Air from expanding so rapidly until it fixed safety-related shortcomings, like waiting too long to fix maintenance problems.

The Gander disaster, like the ValuJet crash, prompted the F.A.A. to expand its inspection system. After other crashes in the mid-1980's, an Aviation Safety Commission was convened to study the F.A.A.'s structure. It issued a report in 1988 calling for an overhaul of the agency, including the appointment of a "safety czar."

Gander's Legacy

Eight years after the Aviation Safety Commission met, three years after a National Airline Commission called for major changes to the F.A.A. and one year after a big "safety summit" in Washington, where some industry executives grumbled over making the same old suggestions again and again, little substantive change has come. All of which raises questions about whether the F.A.A.'s latest pronouncements will make any real difference, and why the F.A.A. is so

hard to change.

There are many reasons for the inertia. The aviation business is a community of powerful special-interest groups that lobby hard against any developments that might be costly to them. The F.A.A. is also subject to intense political oversight. That means that big changes to its structure might threaten, among other things, politicians' ability to bring home to their constituents grant money for aviation improvements.

There is also internal resistance. The F.A.A. is reluctant to alter anything that might chip away at the value of its stamp of approval. Why tinker with success?

But is it really success? The F.A.A. knew that ValuJet and Arrow Air had safety troubles before their crashes, and even though those problems may have had little to do

abilities as it is a defense of the airline.

The F.A.A. has, to a degree, placed itself in a public relations box. By constantly measuring its success by the relatively low number of crashes, and by constantly reminding travelers that flying in the United States is the safest form of transportation, it plays down the need for change and the need for more resources to oversee an industry that is expanding at a dizzying clip.

Waiting for Crisis

"The hardest thing to do is change an organization whose leaders believe it is successful," said Daniel M. Kasper, an aviation consultant and a member of the 1993 National Airline Commission that studied the aviation industry and the F.A.A.'s role in it.

"It's far easier to change when people believe there is a crisis." Even the phrase "zero accidents," which the F.A.A. has taken to trumpeting as its only reasonable goal, can breed complacency. What the F.A.A. really means by zero accidents is zero serious accidents or fatal crashes. Those happen rarely, but there are frequent mishaps that, for a variety of reasons that include luck, do not result in deaths.

Even when there is pressure for change, and a commission is convened to find a new way, the pressure is often relieved before the first recommendation is made.

"The nation's air transportation system is safe, for now," the chairman of the 1988 Aviation Safety Commission said in releasing its report. But by the time anybody read the report's warning — that "the present safety regulatory structure designed to insure aviation safety is inadequate to deal with future growth and technological change" — the urgency was lost.

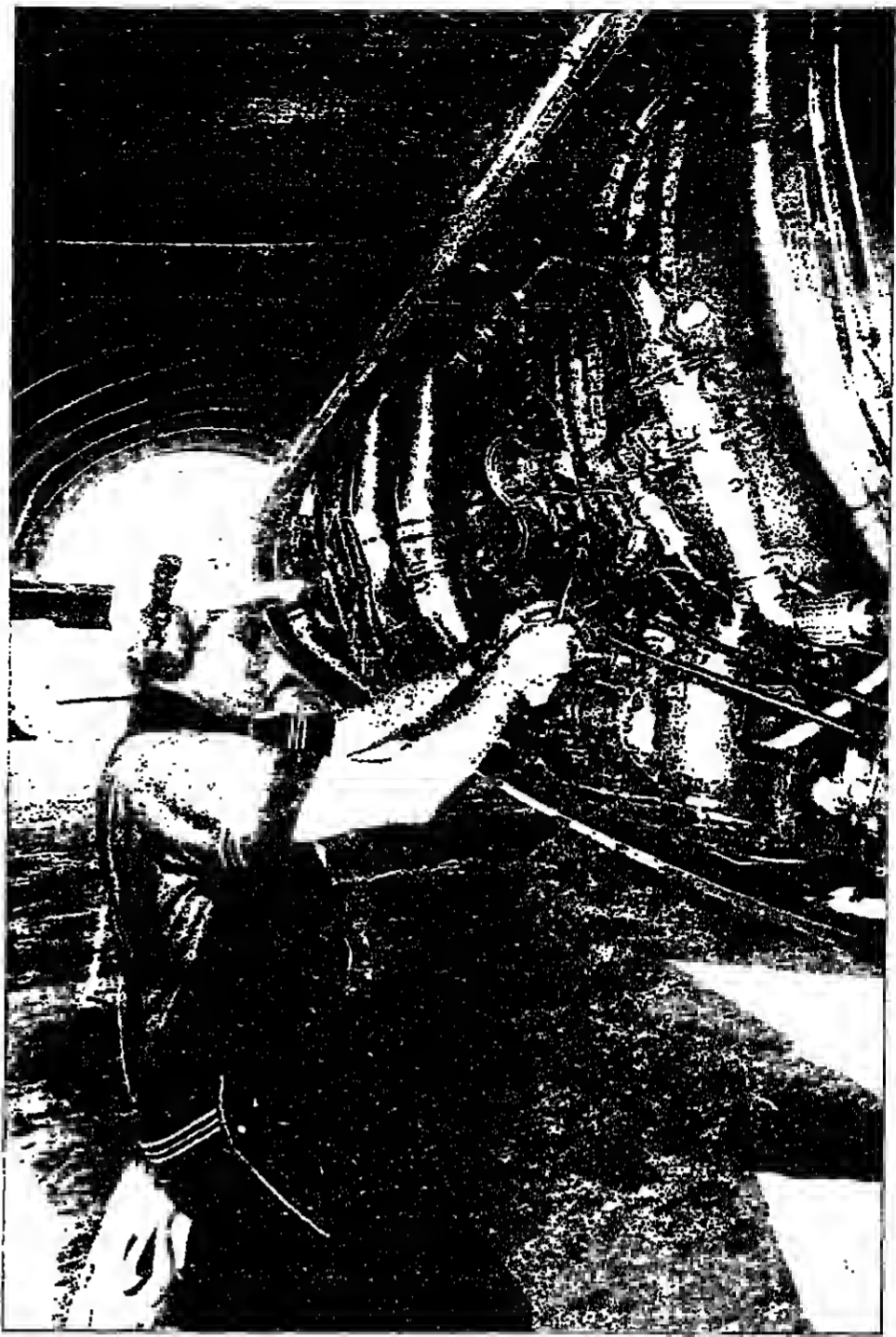
The experts said then, as they do now, that the most unnatural of acts, surrendering control over one's life by climbing aboard a plane to defy gravity, is in fact safe. And the proof is that today, if it's a typical day, will be another zero-accident day.

After a crash, the F.A.A. pronounces the errant airline safe.

with either accident, why didn't the agency take more action sooner? If the agency knew it needed to monitor aviation subcontractors better, why didn't it go ahead and shift its force of front-line inspectors?

And why hasn't the office of the top professional safety official — the associate administrator for both certification and regulation — been divided into two separate jobs? As it is structured now, the person who says an airline is safe to start operating may be resistant to suggestions that his confidence in the airline was misplaced.

These are not problems the F.A.A. readily acknowledges. After most crashes, the agency reflexively pronounces the airline safe. It is as much a defense of its own monitoring



An airline mechanic works on an engine at Denver International Airport.

Ward of the State

The Gap in Ella Fitzgerald's Life

By NINA BERNSTEIN

ELLA FITZGERALD sang jazz in a voice so pure and perfected that it admitted no pain — and America loved her for it. In her sound we soared over the darkest passages of our nation's history, to a place where race and class lost all dominion.

Yet the public never knew the full measure of her accomplishment, because for over 60 years she kept the cruelest chapter of her own history a secret: her confinement for more than a year in a reformatory when she was an orphaned teen-ager.

The unwritten story survives in the recollections of former employees of the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson, N.Y., and in the records of a government investigation undertaken there in 1936, about two years after Miss Fitzgerald left. State investigators reported that black girls, then 88 of 460 residents, were segregated in the two most crowded and dilapidated of the reformatory's 17 "cottages," and were routinely beaten by male staff.

At a time of renewed calls for institutions to rescue children from failed families, this lost chapter in the life of an American icon illuminates the gap between a recurrent ideal and the harsh realities of the child welfare system.

Like Miss Fitzgerald, most of the 12- to 16-year-old girls sent to the reform school by the family courts were guilty of nothing more serious than truancy or running away. Like today's foster children, they were typically victims of poverty, abuse and family disruption; indeed, many had been discharged by private foster care charities upon reaching a troublesome puberty.

When Thomas Tunney, the institution's last superintendent, arrived in 1965 and tried to bring back former residents to talk to the girls of his own day, he learned that Miss Fitzgerald had already rebuffed invitations to return as an honored guest.

"She hated the place," Mr. Tunney said from his home in Saratoga Springs, where he retired some years after the institution closed in 1976. "She had been held in the basement of one of the cottages once and all but tortured. She was damned if she was going to come back."

Not in the Choir

A more generous image of Miss Fitzgerald's experience there was painted by E. M. O'Rourke, 87, who taught English at the school in the 1930's and remembers Miss Fitzgerald as a model student. "I can even visualize her handwriting — she was a perfectionist," she recalled. There was a fine music program at the school, she said, and a locally celebrated institution choir.

But Ella Fitzgerald was not in the choir: it was all white.

"We didn't know what we were looking at," Mrs. O'Rourke said. "We didn't know she would be the future Ella Fitzgerald."

She did sing in public at least once while she was at the reformatory, according to Beulah Crank, who later worked as a house-mother there. Mrs. Crank, 78, said she was



Ella Fitzgerald at the Apollo; she made her own way.

This talent survived the institutional life. But how many didn't?

with her parents at the A.M.E. Zion Church in Hudson the day Miss Fitzgerald performed with a few other black girls from the school; she would have been no more than a year away from her legendary victory in a talent contest at Harlem's Apollo Theater.

"That girl sang her heart out," Mrs. Crank remembered.

Gloria McFarland, director of psychology at the reformatory from 1955 to 1963, found Miss Fitzgerald's record in the dusty files. "She was a foster care kid when she came," said Dr. McFarland. "She was paroled to Chick Webb's band." Later, the institution's old juvenile records were destroyed by order of the state.

All her life, Miss Fitzgerald was intensely reluctant to talk about her past. As recently as 1994, when this reporter first stumbled on evidence that she had been at the school, Miss Fitzgerald kept her silence.

The silence left a mysterious gap in her obituaries when she died June 15. But her history can now add a cherished face to an often abstract debate about other people's children.

Abused by her stepfather after her moth-

er's death in 1932, Ella Fitzgerald was taken in at 15 by an aunt in Harlem — the equivalent of today's kinship foster home, but without the financial support. The girl who had excelled in her old Yonkers school dropped out to scrounge for money; she ran numbers at one point and worked as a lookout for a "sporting house," knocking on the door in warning if the police were around.

Her most recent biographer, Stuart Nicholson, has surmised that the authorities caught up with her and placed her in the Colored Orphan Asylum in Riverdale. It was after running away from the orphanage, he suggests, that she found her lucky break in show business.

Out of Room

But the Riverdale orphanage — the only one open to black children — was overwhelmed as the Depression converged with the great migration of poor blacks from the rural South. With so many younger children in need of a bed, a runaway teen-ager was a perfect candidate to send on to the state reform school.

The institution at Hudson, near Albany, had opened in 1887 as the House of Refuge for Women, the first state reformatory targeting unwed mothers. In the "home-like" brick cottages, discipline meant solitary confinement on bread and water, shackles and beatings. Later, the mission changed to younger girls loosely defined as "wayward," "incorrigible" or "in need of supervision." But the solitary confinement and abuse remained endemic. The buildings now house a men's prison.

"Institutions at their best are no damn good, and I'm old enough to see the pendulum swing back," lamented Mr. Tunney, who closed the "punishment cottage" but found himself reintroducing some of the old practices in a "behavior modification unit."

Like many adolescents leaving the foster care system today, Miss Fitzgerald lived hand to mouth after she left Hudson.

"You ask me how did she eat," Charles Linton, a singer with Chick Webb's orchestra, has said of the gawky, unwashed girl who was dancing for tips on 125th Street until he persuaded the band leader to let her sing with them. "She lived with people she talked to, and she ate with them, she slept wherever she could."

Still shy of 18, she was officially in state custody. Today, we would call her homeless. Her "parole" to a band performing at the Savoy Ballroom was only formal sanction for what she found by her own extraordinary talent and luck.

If she was almost lost to us, how many like her have been?

"How many Ellas are there?" Mr. Tunney asked. "She turned out to be absolutely one of a kind; but all the other children were human beings, too. In that sense, they are all Ellas."

A President Who Absorbs Body Blows

Continued From Page 1

Republicans can take solace in that they have nearly five months to make the "character issue" stick to Mr. Clinton.

While the Summer Olympics in Atlanta may dominate news coverage before the August party conventions, ethics issues are not about to disappear: The House and Senate inquiries into the F.B.I. file transfers have only just begun; so has the second Whitewater trial in Little Rock, involving Mr. Lindsey; and the special prosecutor for Whitewater, Kenneth W. Starr, now has the F.B.I. file affair on his plate as well. The Republican Party is sure to keep the questions alive in other ways; already, it is running TV ads reminding voters of the sexual harassment suit against Mr. Clinton and portraying him as a draft dodger.

Tolerance

But for now, the President is benefiting from an understanding, though hardly sympathetic, public and from a far more tolerant political climate than in 1988, when Senator Gary Hart of Colorado abandoned his Presidential campaign amid revelations of his extramarital involvement with a woman on the yacht "Monkey Business."

Last weekend, hoping that he had finally broken through, Mr. Dole routed a CNN-Time poll that found Mr. Clinton's lead had slipped to 6 points from 22 points a month earlier. But the poll-taker has since conceded that the survey probably caught Mr. Dole at an unusually good moment: the day after his emotional resignation from the Senate. On Friday, a new CNN poll found that Mr. Clinton held a 19-point lead, even though most people said Mr. Dole was more honest and trustworthy.

In fairness, there is not a trace of evidence that Mr. Clinton has stolen public money, carried on with women in the White House or ordered wiretaps of his enemies. A joke

making the rounds on the House floor is that Mr. Clinton amassed the F.B.I. files not out of sinister motives but because he was so eager to win friends, he wanted to send state-dinner invitations to his opponents.

"It's a drip, drip, drip type of thing," said Senator John Breaux, a Louisiana Democrat. "But the Republicans still haven't produced anything. The old saying, 'Where's the beef?' I would say, 'Where's the crime?'"

Yet voters know they did not elect a saint in 1992. From his mutual appearances before wide national audiences, when he spoke of his past marital discord and bobbed and weaved on the draft, Mr. Clinton sought to inoculate himself against the character issue. His mantra during the New Hampshire primary four years ago was: "If you want a perfect candidate, vote for somebody else."

So far, the tactic has seemed to work. Many voters do not particularly like, or trust, the President. But that does not mean they won't vote for him. Voters have become so disillusioned about their politicians that they have low expectations about them.

"The idealism of the electorate has suffered, and the Clinton popularity is an index of the acceptance of lower standards," said former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who was angrily rebuked by Mr. Clinton when, at a candidates' debate during the 1992 primaries, he raised questions about Mrs. Clinton's business dealings.

Representative Patricia Schroeder, a Colorado Democrat who coined the term "Teflon-coated Presidency," said: "People are just scandal-overloaded. They know that Bush was involved in the Iran-contra stuff. They know that Reagan was not really in charge. What people are saying is the last President who they really thought was a conscientious guy was Carter — yet he wasn't at the time getting straight A's from people."

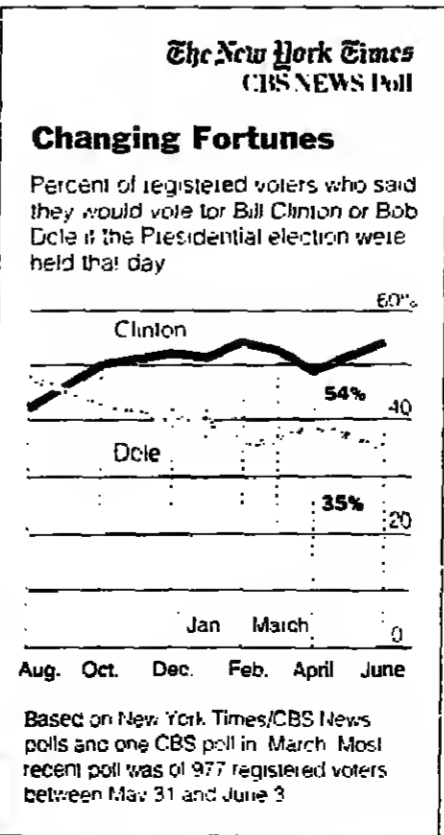
The Dole Contrast

As the accusations pile up, the public remains unmoved. Even the guilty verdicts in the Whitewater trial against the Clintons' business partners did not bring character questions to the forefront. Seventy-seven percent of Americans polled by The New York Times and CBS said the verdict brought no change in their opinion of the President.

Mr. Clinton has also benefited by the contrast with Mr. Dole, who many voters believe has yet to formulate a compelling rationale for his candidacy. Another advantage for Mr. Clinton is that the longest controversy, Whitewater, is impenetrably complicated to most Americans — and difficult to boil down into a 30-second ad.

Haley Barbour, the Republican national chairman, accuses the media of glossing over Mr. Clinton's troubles (the White House certainly disagrees) and warns that the Administration's efforts to play down the gravity of its troubles could backfire. "Do not underestimate the impact when people are told over and over, 'There is not much to this,'" Mr. Barbour said.

Mr. Clinton's political fortunes could change, of course, and they could change overnight if the small drips turn into bucketfuls of questions. If there is one more indictment, one more scandal, or — in Watergate parlance — a smoking gun with Bill or Hillary Clinton's fingerprints, Mr. Dole might finally find the key to victory in November: The character issue could become too big for voters to ignore.



The World

Even in Slow-Motion, It's a Russian Revolution

Continued From Page 1

tion, some people feel the future course of the nation won't begin to be clear until the people born after 1991 are old enough to run it.

"When the Berlin Wall fell down and then the Soviet Union disappeared, we all felt that the world was changed forever in every possible way," said Anatoly I. Antonov, head of the department of family sociology at Moscow State University. "Then we caught our breath. What we saw was the theoretical opportunity to take advantage of great change. But for most people there

In one of history's strange ironies, the communities that once fought Communism are now its staunch supporters.

was no real way to do it. Humans can't move that fast. It may sound cruel, but the old generation will have to die before we can look at what is before us. This country is going to be divided for quite a while."

That was apparent from the first round of presidential voting last week. Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Zyuganov came in practically tied, and will face each other in a runoff on July 3.

Old people, scared of change, disgusted by their new poverty and yearning for a return to stability, voted in huge numbers for Mr. Zyuganov, who promised that the past would carry his supporters to the future. In one of history's strange ironies, the very rural communities that once battled with mutinous fury to prevent the

Bolsheviks from confiscating their private land have become the last redoubts of Communism.

In the past, the cities, with their mighty industries and large proletariats, were the primary focus of Communist ideology and organization. Cities offered a prospect of well-being and privilege that the countryside never could. It was so farms, throughout the country, where peasants starved to death in the fields during much of the forced transition to Communism earlier this century.

But cities voted heavily for Mr. Yeltsin this time around, an outcome brought about in part by new population shifts from farms to cities, now that people are allowed to move about freely. To this small but growing group of new migrants, Mr. Yeltsin has held out more hope than any leader in Russian history.

It may seem obvious, but it is worth noting that young people don't want much to do with the Communists. Three quarters of all people under the age of 35 (and a greater percentage in the cities) voted for one of the three main non-Communist candidates — Mr. Yeltsin; former Gen. Aleksandr I. Lebed, the law-and-order candidate, or the economic reformer Grigory Yavlinsky. Most experts here assume that in the second round Mr. Yeltsin will win by attracting supporters of the other two, especially those of Mr. Lebed, the strong third-place finisher who after the voting threw his support to Mr. Yeltsin in return for the top national-security post in Mr. Yeltsin's Government.

The Actuarial Factor

It may seem odd to write the Communists out of the future just after their leader received 32 percent of the vote, particularly when the first-place finisher, Mr. Yeltsin, received only 35 percent. But Russia is a country where old people are dying off rapidly. The average life expectancy here for men, 57, is the worst in the industrial world; for women it is 70 — better, but still no match for the West. Twenty years from now, almost half of the



Russian workers, armed with buckets, leave Red Square after scrubbing up for the May Day celebration.

people who voted for Mr. Zyuganov last week (and who will undoubtedly vote for him again in the second round of voting) will be dead.

That means the future probably belongs to somebody other than the Communists.

But it does not necessarily belong to democrats.

First of all, Mr. Yeltsin is still detested widely here — and he has not exactly been a fabulous advertisement for democracy. Even those liberal and young people who opposed Mr. Zyuganov frequently embraced some parts of his program. Most people here are suspicious of private property, wonder what was so bad about a system that supplied health care at low cost from birth to death, and hope that prices are once again reined in by the government. Those are ideas of social democrats, and if Mr. Zyuganov had emphasized them instead of spend-

ing so much time explaining all of Stalin's achievements he would likely have fared better in the first round of voting.

"We all know the old Communists are going to be gone in 20 years," said Roman Artemiev, the political editor of Dally Kommersant, which has become here something like what The Wall Street Journal is in the United States: essential reading for aspiring entrepreneurs, youthful tycoons and savvy managers. "What we don't know is what will come after them," Mr. Artemiev added. "Although that is not overtly the point of this election, it is the bottom line. If the Communists do manage to win they can create something new for themselves. If they lose, the numbers say they will lose forever. Then we will just have to find a future for ourselves."

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Reforming Judaism

Continued From Page 1

from the former Soviet Union who have settled in Israel in recent years. For more than 100,000, many of them products of mixed marriage, their claims of Judaism are not even recognized by the Chief Rabbinate; thus they cannot marry or be buried in Orthodox ceremonies. (In Israel there are no civil marriage or divorce proceedings; Muslim and Christian authorities have jurisdiction over their own.)

Recognizing these difficulties, a party of immigrants that joined Mr. Netanyahu's Government signed an agreement with him to accelerate conversions by the Rabbinate, to help couples who are not deemed Jewish to marry, and to offer nonreligious burial.

Seeking Recognition

But the Conservative and Reform movements want more. They seek official recognition that would break the monopoly of the Orthodox Chief Rabbinate, which is the only recognized Jewish religious authority in Israel. Weddings performed by Conservative and Reform rabbis are not recognized by the state, and under Mr. Netanyahu's agreements with religious parties, only Orthodox-sanctioned conversions will be recognized.

During the term of the previous Labor-led Government, the Conservative and Reform movements began receiving Government aid and were authorized to draw up education programs and train Jewish studies teachers for the public schools. Now, though, Orthodox parties control the Ministries of Education and Religion, leading Reform and Conservative leaders to worry that Government backing will dry up.

At bottom, the struggle is over the future of Judaism in the Jewish state.

The Orthodox rabbinate says it is upholding unchanged traditions that have insured Jewish survival for generations.

The Conservative and Reform movements have vowed to go to Israel's Supreme Court if necessary to secure recognition of their activities. But Mr. Netanyahu's Government has suggested that any gains in court could be nullified in parliament.

'Bright Spots'

"This will delay our development and may even set us back," said Rabbi Uri Regev, a Reform leader. "But there are some bright spots. It will be easier for us now to show the Israeli public the importance of fighting for freedom of religion and pluralism, because it will be clear who the bad guys are. I also see an awakening of the Jewish establishment abroad."

Jewish groups in the United States have, in fact, expressed concern. "People will be disappointed in what is happening to the character of Israeli society, and will be less willing to give money to a society with which they are not proud to identify," said Rabbi Richard Hirsch, executive director of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the international umbrella group of Reform Judaism.

One course of action that both the Reform and Conservative movements have resisted so far is entering politics, forming a party and trying to achieve their goals in the same way the Orthodox have done so effectively.

Rabbi Einat Ramon, spokeswoman for the Conservative movement in Israel, said that such a mix of religion and politics is precisely what repelled many Israelis. "We feel it's wrong," she said, "for a religious movement with a spiritual message to be involved in politics. That's what creates a bad image for Judaism and alienates so many people."

Handwritten note in Arabic script: "القدس 1995"

ECONOMY

Blue-Collar Training Gets the Black-Tie Touch

By JON NORDHEIMER

WILMINGTON, Del. — When Cory Ocasio and his teammates met Delaware public high school rivals in Math League finals last winter, they heard cruel sniggering from the other sides. "They seemed to be saying we had no right to be there, that vo-tech kids weren't as intelligent as ones from college-prep high schools," recalled Mr. Ocasio, who is 18.

The ridicule stopped abruptly when Mr. Ocasio's Delcastle Vocational-Technical School took third place, ahead of six other teams. Blue-collar pride, a casualty in an age of factory layoffs and lowered expectations, had scored a small triumph in an academic arena where vocational students were not supposed to get within sniffing distance of victory.

Take note: a lot more surprises are coming if Dennis L. Loftus has his way.

Dr. Loftus is superintendent of Delcastle and two other vocational high schools in populous New Castle County, which includes the city of Wilmington. In six years on the job, he has transformed the trade schools into what some experts call the prototype of vocational education of the future: training centers capable of producing workers who can compete in a global, high-tech economy.

Like retooling an ailing industry, he and his staff overhauled the curriculum to require the 3,000 students in the three schools to fill their heads with as much academic instruction

as vocational preparation. That means students take four years each of writing, English, math and science — a standard once considered a waste of time for those destined to work with their hands and whose ability to absorb complex materials was suspect. Many students, in fact, will not be working long with their hands. White some are studying traditional trades and services, like plumbing and cosmetology, others are working with sophisticated equipment and concepts that will take them on to college and careers managing the complex technical systems that are increasingly at the center of industrial processes.

"Our approach is to treat the kids as if they were preparing for college as well as a career," said the superintendent, a 54-year-old educator from Iowa. "If you don't give your vocational students some academic rigor today, man are you going to have a long, tough climb finding skilled work for them in the 21st century."

The approach appears to be paying off. For a vocational system that a decade ago accepted all students sent its way, including troublemakers and truants, the three schools now enjoy unprecedented selectivity. In September, they accepted just 810 of the 1,685 students who applied for admission. Absenteeism has dropped sharply. Scores have shot up on uniform state tests. Students get new respect from peers in traditional high schools. And the graduates appear much more confident and qualified than their predecessors did, with nearly half of those in this year's class going on to some form of post-secondary education, compared with 26 percent of the

class of 1996. "I call it the 'Field of Dreams' syndrome," said Vicki Gehri, director of instructional services for the schools, referring to the 1989 movie. "Build a vocational system based on high expectations and standards, and they will come."

Across the nation, scattershot school districts are trying to revamp vocational training along models similar to the one installed here. Some may be just as successful. But most quickly run into financial and other obstacles and settle for half-measures that fall short of the revolution that educators and business leaders say is necessary to build a work force for the future. That revolution, encapsulated in the buzz phrase "tech prep," is built around the concept that vocational training should start early and continue into at least two years of technical post-secondary education.

Without such a radical shift, experts say, vo-tech students will be scrambling for a diminishing number of traditional blue-collar jobs while higher-paying, higher-tech jobs will go begging or leave the country.

Just how many vo-tech students are currently in American high schools is a matter of definition. Of 11.7 million students in 9th to 12th grades in more than 15,000 public schools, fully 97 percent may take one or more vocational courses, typically a home economics or typing class. Those who take two or more advanced courses in a specialized trade number about a million, and most attend comprehensive high schools offering vocational training programs. The rest spend their school days split between academic studies in a regular high school and vocational training at one of 1,400 regional vo-tech centers, or attend some 200 schools like the ones here that provide both academic and vocational instruction.

In addition, nearly six million students are enrolled in some form of post-secondary vocational education, either in community or four-year colleges or at specialized schools that offer certification in an occupation.

A force behind the movement for change is the Southern Regional Education Board in Atlanta, whose vocational education consortium works with schools in 21 states, including Delaware.

The consortium's "High Schools That Work" strategy promotes sweeping changes in the way comprehensive high schools as well as vocational schools operate in most communities. Both forms of schools must require a higher standard of academic training for all students, not just college-bound achievers, said Dr. Gene Bottoms, director of the board's vocation initiative.

Too many students coast through high school in general studies and emerge without marketable skills or intellectual acuity, he asserted. Vocational students may pick up a single skill, he added, but are not exposed to abstract and conceptual ideas, training that will enable them to master the complex technologies increasingly found in the workplace. "Americans don't believe most students can learn complicated material, even though most parents believe a college degree is still the ticket to success for their children," he continued. "Those are just two of the barriers we have to overcome."

Even those who make it through college lack expertise for the kind of jobs a changing economy has to offer, he added. Government economists predict that the next decade will increase the demand for highly skilled, highly paid workers as the number of professional careers holds steady and unskilled jobs decline.

Part of the problem is money. It costs about 50 percent more to educate a vocational student than an academic student, with the bulk of the added expense going to specialized teaching tools like shop equipment and materials.

But there have also been disagreements in many systems over just how and when to change priorities. "The question is how to upgrade at a time of low resources and still stay competitive," said Bret Lovejoy, executive director of the American Vocational Association, based in Alexandria, Va.

In Connecticut, which has long had a strong regional vocational system of 17 schools run directly by the state, there is tension between teach-



Cory Ocasio, an 18-year-old student at the Delcastle Vocational-Technical School in Wilmington, Del.

ing skills for manufacturing industries on the decline but still needing workers, and preparing a work force for high-tech industries the state would like to attract.

"A lot of the trades we taught used to represent Old World heavy-metal trades," said Ted Sergi, the Connecticut Commissioner of Education. "Now the central debate is how much money of a very tight budget should be redirected toward greater training for the vocational student in academics and technology the new world demands."

Advocates of the promised land of tech prep say the contemplated changes are so broad that it may take a generation to put them all into effect. But many short of endorsing more Federal participation beyond recent financing programs like the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994, which makes grants available for apprenticeships and other work-based programs. The concern, Dr. Bottoms and others said, is that Federal mandates might slow down rather than hasten the climb out of mediocrity.

"Federal policies since the 1960's were more concerned with access and equity than performance, and directed youths with difficulty in academic studies into vocational training," Dr. Bottoms said. Vocational training, particularly in large cities, got a reputation as a second-class education and a "dumping ground," the polar opposites of what the new concepts envision, he said.

The number of high school sophomores who identified themselves as vo-tech students fell from 21 percent in 1980 to 7.9 percent in 1990, according to a Federal Department of Education study, the same period in which computers started changing the workplace and assigning old vo-tech skills to the scrap heap.

The element of race is not far from any discussion about imposing more academic rigor on vocational education. Critics say that hurts the minority students who need the most help in finding jobs. Advocates counter that special consideration should be given to disadvantaged students but that programs should not be built entirely around their needs.

Some of the biggest gains are taking place in the Southeast, with large numbers of black students participating, Dr. Bottoms said.

Vocational schools are also under pressure to switch from blue-collar to "pink collar" careers in the service industry, drawing greater numbers of female students into courses like culinary arts and health care services. Small numbers of women enter male-dominated fields like the construction trades, but most pursue traditional office and health-sector careers, experts point out.

In the face of all these conflicting needs, what impresses most outsiders about Dr. Loftus's New Castle County Vocational-Technical School District is the swiftness with which it has assembled all the pieces and fit them together.

Certainly, Delaware's small size has been a help. The state has only three counties and one large city. There are only two vo-tech schools outside the district run by Dr. Loftus. All five schools are financed by the state and administered by a board of education appointed by the Legislature, not elected by popular vote.

of the 3,000 in the district, from 144 two years earlier.

Students also receive "employability" ratings based on their attendance, punctuality, cooperation and work ethic. Teachers are evaluated every six weeks.

The number of black students has held steady at 30 percent of the district population, Dr. Loftus said, but he has noted a shift within that group to more female than male students. "Black female students appear to be much more focused and driven than black males," he said. "The same might be said of white female students compared to white males."

More money is available for technical equipment for the shops. In auto repair, for example, a four-gas engine analyzer — which checks exhaust for signs of trouble — cost \$41,000. A new computerized paint shed has a price tag of \$100,000.

"When I was a student here 20 years ago, we were all 'gearheads' who wanted to build hot rods and go to the drag strip," said Paul Davis, an instructor. "Now the kids don't have much interest in cars outside of transportation. They're here to learn a trade that pays a lot of money."

James King, head of the program, added: "Engines are so complex today you can't work on them without the help of machines, and you have to know as much about the machines as the cars. The dim-bulb garage is gone."

Training in trades like masonry and plumbing that involve as much sweat as knowledge are on their way out, other teachers said, and new programs like electronics, information systems and environmental technology are in.

An emphasis on communications skills has moved the New Castle district schools to the top echelon of all Delaware schools in writing scores, Ms. Gehrt said, while the two other vo-tech schools in Delaware remain at the bottom of the 19 districts.

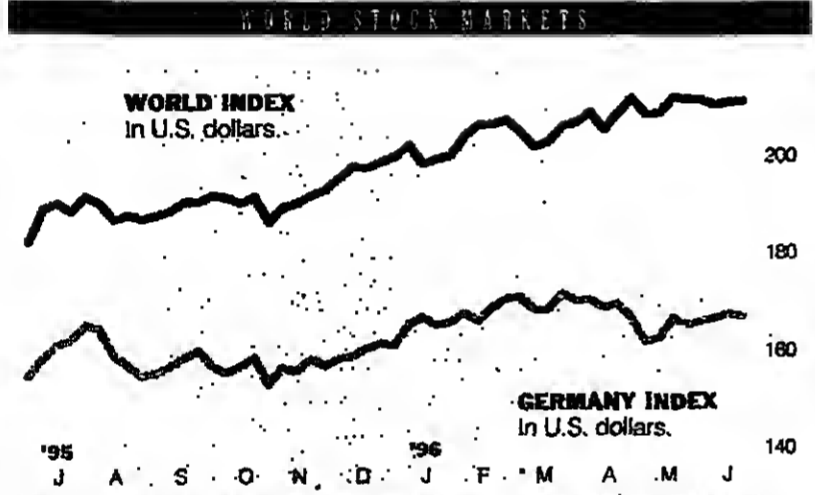
Meanwhile, companies like General Motors and Microsoft are getting involved with training programs that pay students wages as they learn technical skills. A foundation has been created to raise \$4.23 million over three years for scholarships and school purchases.

The district will add a fourth vo-tech school next year, and Dr. Loftus is already laying plans for a fifth. "The comprehensive high school should only be for college prep honors courses and special education," he said with a sly smile.

"Everyone else should go to vocational school after being exposed to some vocational training in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades."



James King, left, and Paul Davis, automotive teachers at Delcastle Technical, with a computerized engine analyzer in the school garage.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURR.			
	Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	% Chg.	YTD Rank	YTD Dividend Yield	Index	% Chg.
Australia	203.85	1.5	6	7.3	14	4.30	171.44	0.9
Austria	186.20	-3.4	26	8.7	15	1.92	147.94	14.0
Belgium	207.18	-2.7	25	-0.9	24	4.14	160.75	5.9
Brazil	178.37	6.7	1	29.3	1	2.01	329.21	33.4
Britain	232.40	-0.6	19	0.8	22	4.17	223.72	1.6
Canada	159.91	0.8	10	7.7	11	2.40	158.18	7.9
Denmark	300.55	0.9	8	4.1	16	1.88	240.61	10.5
Finland	192.75	-0.3	17	3.0	19	2.66	188.00	10.3
France	192.75	-1.6	23	7.4	13	3.06	156.69	13.8
Germany	169.44	-0.4	18	3.5	18	1.84	134.68	10.6
Hong Kong	425.00	0.1	15	9.6	8	3.37	422.38	9.7
Ireland	289.33	0.2	14	13.2	5	3.34	257.24	14.5
Italy	82.97	2.7	2	12.6	6	2.31	95.37	9.2
Japan	167.50	0.3	13	1.7	20	0.71	108.51	7.4
Malaysia	564.02	2.3	3	16.3	2	1.66	542.29	14.3
Mexico	1,201.88	-1.3	22	16.0	3	1.34	9,952.12	14.1
Netherlands	293.18	-0.9	20	7.5	12	3.14	229.25	14.9
New Zealand	79.52	1.7	4	-0.2	23	4.36	62.21	-3.8
Norway	253.40	-0.9	21	9.6	9	2.02	224.84	13.4
Singapore	423.35	1.6	5	4.0	17	1.38	275.02	3.6
South Africa	360.79	0.4	11	-6.4	26	2.10	344.17	12.1
Spain	182.43	0.4	12	10.4	7	3.18	177.64	17.0
Sweden	357.77	0.8	9	14.6	4	2.41	351.90	14.9
Switzerland	239.08	1.5	7	1.3	21	1.58	166.86	11.0
Thailand	165.89	-1.8	24	-1.4	25	2.02	163.21	-0.8
United States	271.37	-0.0	16	8.0	10	2.18	271.37	8.0

Region	COMPOSITE INDICES					
	Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	% Chg.		
Europe	209.41	-0.3	4.2	3.07	184.09	8.4
Pacific Basin	170.10	0.4	2.9	1.15	119.39	7.2
Europe/Pacific	186.36	0.1	3.6	2.05	143.95	7.7
World	213.39	0.1	5.5	2.11	183.77	8.0

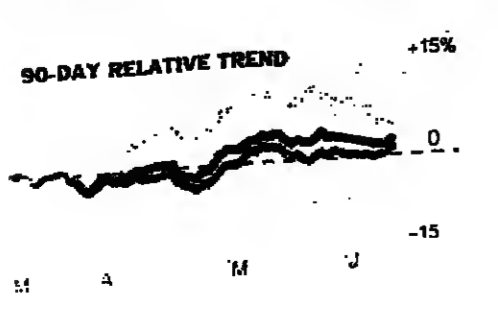
Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd. Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

Exchange rate	CURRENCIES			
	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	109.15	109.23	-0.07	84.32
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.5345	1.5280	+0.43	1.3863
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3645	1.3652	-0.51	1.3744
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.5355	1.5360	-0.03	1.6054

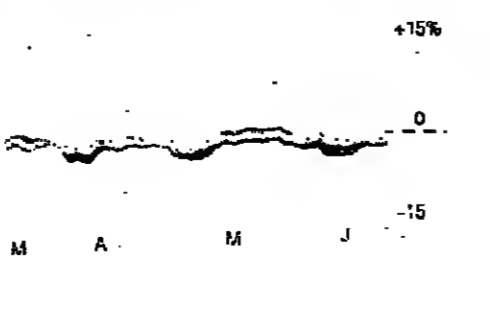
Sources: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

June 17-21: Signs of Higher Earnings and Interest Rates Decouple Stocks and Bonds

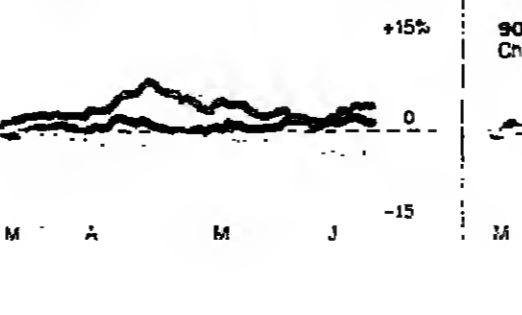
PRICES	
DOMESTIC EQUITIES	
Broad market S & P. 500 index	Up 0.15% 666.84
Blue chips Dow 30 industrials	Up 0.99% 5,705.23
Small capitalization Russell 2000 index	Down 2.78% 345.21



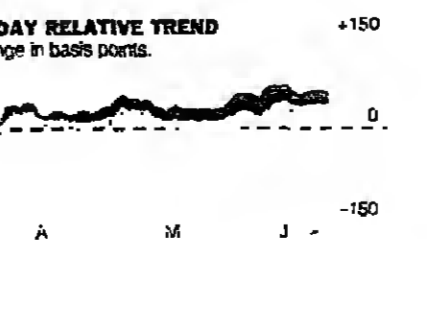
DOMESTIC BONDS	
Treasuries Ryan Labs. Total Return	Up 0.07% 183.60
Municipals Bond Buyer index	Up 0.64% 112.38
Corporates Merrill Lynch Master index	Up 0.08% 790.27



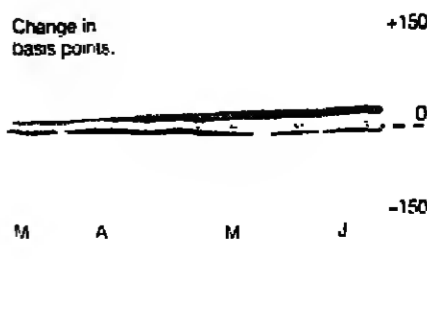
AROUND THE WORLD	
European stocks F.I.-Actuaries Europe	Down 0.30% 209.41
Asian stocks F.I.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	Up 0.45% 170.10
Gold New York cash price	Unchanged \$384.70



YIELDS	
BONDS	
Long bonds 30-year Treasuries	7.09% Up 1 basis pt.
Notes 2-year Treasuries	6.29% Up 3 basis pts.
Municipals Bond Buyer index	6.11% Down 5 basis pts.



OTHER INVESTMENTS	
Money market funds 7-day average	4.77% Up 2 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s 1-year small savers	4.97% Up 2 basis pts.
Stocks S. & P. 500 dividend yield	2.21% Down 2 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets, The Bond Buyer, Datastream, Goldman, Sachs IBC's Money Fund Report, Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's, Ryan Labs

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Finding a New U.N. Chief

Boutros Boutros-Ghali has provided honorable and competent leadership as Secretary General of the United Nations these last five years, but it is time for him to turn the job over to a more dynamic executive who can reform the organization and help restore its credibility with Americans.

The Clinton Administration, for those reasons and a less savory desire to deny Bob Dole a campaign issue, has informed Mr. Boutros-Ghali it will not support his candidacy for a second term. Since the selection of a secretary general requires the agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council — China, France, Britain, Russia and the United States — Mr. Boutros-Ghali has little hope of keeping his post unless the Administration changes its view.

He deserves a graceful exit, and gratitude for the good things he has done. More than most previous Secretaries General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali has spoken for the weakest and poorest U.N. members, prodded consciences and promoted global conferences on women's rights and the environment. He worked hard to carry out the often ill-defined mandates of the Security Council, and made the U.N. a helpful partner in the American intervention in Haiti.

Some of the failures on his watch were more the result of poorly designed missions than ineffective leadership by the Secretary General. Mr. Boutros-Ghali, an experienced Egyptian diplomat, took office when too much was expected of a post-cold-war U.N. He was unfairly blamed when peacekeeping operations proved too ambitious in Somalia and too confused in Bosnia.

Nor was his tenure helped by the stubborn refusal of Congress to pay the U.N. dues owed by Washington, which has contributed to a severe budget crisis at the international organization.

But Mr. Boutros-Ghali's performance has been uninspiring in important areas. Morale within the U.N. has been soured by his secretive management

style, a reluctance to delegate authority and by headlines too often provoked by his off-the-chuff gaffes.

Most significantly, he moved slowly to streamline the U.N.'s creaky management and financial practices, underestimating the loss of political support for the U.N. in Washington and across the United States. Some of the opposition to the U.N. and to Mr. Boutros-Ghali is purely partisan and campaign driven, and it has come with inexcusable personal ridicule of him. But there is a more thoughtful opposition grounded in a loss of confidence in the U.N. That is based in part on the organization's bloated bureaucracy and its history of careless and wasteful financial management.

Pressed by Washington, Mr. Boutros-Ghali has adopted a no-growth budget and other fiscal reforms, but he has shown little of the determination required to carry out a comprehensive reform of the U.N., and none of the salesmanship needed to overcome American doubts.

There is an impressive roster of potential successors, including Kofi Annan of Ghana, the chief U.N. peacekeeper, and Moeen Qureshi of the World Bank, who is a former Prime Minister of Pakistan. Three notable women deserve consideration, though none are avowed candidates: Sadako Ogata of Japan, the U.N.'s High Commissioner for Refugees, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway's Prime Minister, and President Mary Robinson of Ireland.

It would be salutary if the Security Council took time and care in its selection process instead of conducting the kind of unseemly scramble behind closed doors that has been its habit in selecting secretaries general.

On assuming office five years ago, when he was 69, Mr. Boutros-Ghali assured well-wishers he would not seek a second term. The Clinton Administration was prepared to extend his service for one year, which he rejected. He ought to honor his assurances and exit with dignity.

Arts, Culture and Condiments

A year ago, the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities did not seem to have much chance of surviving the budget buzz saw in Congress. With bipartisan support, however, they have hung on. Forced to cut grants and personnel, they have begun to look for alternative sources of funding from companies and individuals to stay alive in the years ahead. The endowments' efforts deserve support, but they also pose a new kind of danger. Outside fund-raising should not siphon private giving away from other arts programs or compromise the endowments' independent mission.

Government support for the arts is often criticized as a luxury and an intrusion into a field best supported by private patronage and giving. But private contributions are not growing at a sufficient pace, and the 40 percent budget cut suffered by the arts endowment this year has dealt a blow to many worthwhile arts programs. A recent report sponsored by a Presidential panel on the arts and humanities and subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation found that private giving had actually fallen since the late 1980's.

Corporate giving has gone up, and many national institutions like the Kennedy Center, the Holocaust Museum and the National Gallery have benefited. Increasingly, however, corporate contributions to the arts are tied to marketing strategies by the companies involved. Recently, for example, the arts endowment announced its biggest corporate gift ever — \$450,000 from the H. J. Heinz Company to support arts education in schools. The announcement of the gift was tied to a separate corporate initiative to promote a contest among schoolchildren to redesign the keystone-shaped label for Heinz ketchup. Three winners will have their de-

signs appear on ketchup bottles next year to celebrate 100 years of "the nation's favorite condiment." A news conference attended by the arts endowment's chairwoman, Jane Alexander, announced both the grant and the ketchup label contest.

There does not seem to be anything inherently wrong with letting a company promote its ketchup if that is what it takes to generate money for arts programs in schools. Museums, performing arts groups and many other worthy causes would be nowhere without the generosity or benign self-interest of private companies, which should not be forced to remain anonymous about their giving. Nevertheless, the National Arts Endowment has to be careful about endorsing corporate advertising campaigns.

For companies, there may be an advantage to giving money to the endowment, forgoing the need to examine the worthiness of arts groups on their own. But some companies may choose to avoid going through an endowment that has had to be politically cautious in order not to offend conservatives in Congress.

Ms. Alexander, a respected actress, author and producer, has brought energy and creativity to the embattled campaign for government support of the arts. She has forcefully made the case that the United States can do more and has won the respect of Republicans and Democrats while managing the agency's cutbacks and streamlining the grant-giving operations. Her attempt to tap other sources of funding is commendable. But it would be a shame if, in the process, critics of the endowment use them as an excuse to squeeze it tighter. Support for the arts is a worthy objective of any government that cares about elevating and educating all its citizens.

Notes on High Water Out West

It has been an abrupt, sodden spring in southwestern Montana. The rivers are full of snowmelt and will be full for many days to come. At Carter's Bridge, just south of Livingston, the Yellowstone River sucks at the concrete bridge pilings with a low, hydraulic hiss. The discolored current swarms with floating debris, mostly cottonwood branches, their bark half-stripped by the commotion. Upstream and down, the river gnaws at its banks, pulling away great fragments of earth, which appear to struggle for a moment and then to succumb, dissolving in a darker swirl of water.

In Yellowstone National Park, not far from the western entrance, there is an enormous meadow where, in normal times, the Madison River bends away from the road toward a cliff face in the distance. Last week that meadow was totally submerged. It was possible to stand near the road and watch bison wading belly deep across an apparently limitless sheet of water, as if they were amphibious creatures. They moved somnolently, all except one young male who was running to catch up with the herd, splashing his way in the bright sunlight. He looked like a peculiarly American version of the bull who carried Europa across the sea. Some bison had managed to climb up onto the roadway. They swung their heads as they walked, their fur hanging in tatters, like seaweed, from their flanks.

Along the Firehole River, still farther into

Yellowstone Park, the buffalo wallows — circular depressions where bison bathe in dust — had turned into tidepools. In some there was only a dense, clotted swirl of algae, but others quivered with temporary life, the nymphs of aquatic insects trying to conceal themselves from a burning sun. Here, at least, the bison were dry, their sleek, red calves grazing beside them. When they are this young, buffalo calves look as though they belong to a different species than their parents, who seem to be all head and spine.

The difference in appearance causes much confusion. One visitor, watching an early June herd of adults and young, asked a local angler which were the buffalo and which were the bison. One truly perplexed tourist praised the Park Service for assigning St. Bernard dogs to guard the herds.

Slowly, the bison along the Firehole River drifted out of the hot sun and into the timber. They left behind a carcass of their own kind, now many days old but still pungent. A solitary raven performed a dance across the river, its ratcheting call echoing over the water. In the far distance, an angler walked down to the murky flow of the Firehole. With his rod beneath one arm, he lifted his hands together, apparently to pray. He stood that way for a very long time. He was selecting a trout fly, as if, under such unpromising conditions, his choice might actually make a difference.

Let's Keep a Wary Eye on Russian Nationalism

To the Editor:
James H. Billington's desire to see positive nationalism emerge in Russia (Op-Ed, June 16) reflects a spirit that is helpful to those who worry what will become of that vast nation.

Mr. Billington uses new words: "russkost," meaning Russian-ness; "gosudarstvennost," governmentalism; "derzhavniki," powerful people. A better word is an old one, "rodina." Literally, it means the motherland, but emotionally it translates to French chills at "La Marseillaise."

Whatever the outcome of the election, rodina will reside in the Russian Orthodox Church, which instills a relationship to the soil — home, plot and village. Stalin miscalculated in the 1920's when he forced peasants onto collective farms after murdering many prosperous farmers. History thereafter has been a reign of terror and a heroic defense of the motherland — rodina.

We must appreciate that the church is united within and beyond the country's borders and is capable of espousing a fervent nationalism. Meanwhile, keep our military strong. RALPH W. HOOVER, Wayne, Pa., June 19, 1996

But Mr. Yeltsin or no Mr. Yeltsin, the combination of Russia's remaining arsenal and a political instability that may last for decades makes it a dangerous place for the United States and its allies.

Not even the Russian Government knows how many warheads Russia had at the outset. The exchange of nuclear weapons data that Presidents Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin agreed on two years ago has been held up by Russian military officers and bureaucrats in thrall to the old secrecy.

The Clinton Administration has to act rapidly once the Russian presidential elections have taken place to restore momentum to the disarmament process, which is vital for our security. JONATHAN DEAN, Washington, June 19, 1996
The writer is an adviser on security issues, Union of Concerned Scientists.

Soviet Grist Mill

To the Editor:
I found myself alternately agreeing with and fuming on June 19 at Richard Pipes's Op-Ed article and Thomas L. Friedman's column on the Russian elections: agreeing with their guarded optimism, but fuming at generalizations.

Mr. Pipes says this election is about "fear of losing freedom and hatred of the West." I can think of other things the election is about that are equally plausible and unverifiable; on the fear side of the ledger, for example, that if defeated, Mr. Yeltsin might do something wild. Better to vote for him for stability's sake. Mr. Friedman soundly argues that

a Yeltsin victory is in the best interests of the United States, but he frames his argument in terms of Russia's "loss" of the cold war and Mr. Yeltsin's role in "managing that defeat," which can only provide grist for the mill of those former Soviet bureaucrats who believe that the fall of the Soviet Union was a result of a capitalist plot. We know whom they are voting for. TERENCE EMMONS, Stanford, Calif., June 19, 1996
The writer is a professor of history at Stanford University.

Subverting Democracy

To the Editor:
Your assertion that President Boris N. Yeltsin's appointment of Aleksandr I. Lebed to head his security council will "help restore discipline to Russia's dangerously demoralized military services" (editorial, June 19) is too optimistic.

Many Western commentators have lauded the general's opposition to the war in Chechnya, overlooking its significance for civilian control of the military. Instead of resigning his commission when the war began, he subverted Mr. Yeltsin's authority by publicly denouncing the war, announcing that his troops could not participate in the operation.

Mr. Lebed's zeal in criticizing Mr. Yeltsin, while tapping into popular sentiments, undermined the country's emerging democratic institutions. LYLE GOLDSTEIN, Washington, June 19, 1996
The writer is a master's candidate at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Move on Disarmament

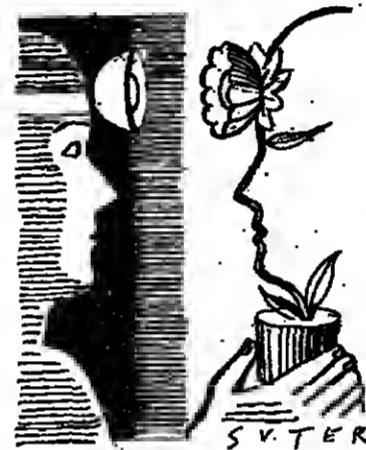
To the Editor:
Thomas L. Friedman (column, June 19) is surely right: the achievements of Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Boris N. Yeltsin in dismantling the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority in conventional armaments and in taking the Soviet missile force off alert are of cardinal importance.

Alternative Medicine Merits Respect and Tax Dollars, Too

To the Editor:
As a physician who incorporated acupuncture into my practice 25 years ago, I am disturbed by your June 18 front-page article on the National Institutes of Health's Office of Alternative Medicine. You repeatedly mention criticisms that "many scientists" have about the agency, but fail to mention widespread support. Almost 60 percent of American physicians refer patients to alternative practitioners and use such practices for their own health care and that of their families.

When it comes to investigating the effects of medical interventions, statistics and individual lives are different. When people are ill, quality of life may be every bit as important as quantity, and alternative practices may have much to offer.

In our search for scientific rigor, we need to accept that we may be able to quantify and reproduce a healing intervention no more than an inspired performance of a Bach violin concerto. MARTIN L. ROSSMAN, M.D., Mill Valley, Calif., June 18, 1996



finance trials of therapies that appear implausible. Open-mindedness is a friend of scientific investigation, and since these therapies are widely used by consumers, it is imperative to determine their efficacy and harm. ADRIANE FUGHER-BERMAN, M.D., Washington, June 19, 1996

ing numerous compounds. Most of these studies, conducted in Europe, are seldom reported in medical journals in the United States.

Herbs and phytochemicals, or advanced herbal extracts, are incorporated into the health care systems of many industrialized nations. Germany leads in this area. Commission E, a panel under the German federal health agency, has reviewed the safety and efficacy of more than 300 herbs sold in German pharmacies and has approved 200 as nonprescription drugs. MARK BLUMENTHAL, Executive Director, American Botanical Council, Austin, Tex., June 18, 1996

To the Editor:
As one who helped frame the research aims for the Office of Alternative Medicine, I am dismayed to learn (front page, June 18) of the million-dollar grant by the National Institutes of Health to study magnet therapy. This area was omitted in a 1993 report on electromagnetic applications in medicine submitted to O.A.M., mainly because of the hucksterism attached to wearing or sleeping on small permanent magnets, with no evidence of efficacy.

I have been approached three times to lend my name to this "therapy." In each case when I pursued questions relating to possible underlying scientific mechanisms, physiological plausibility or clinical trials, I was met with stony-faced silence.

The most recent player in this business is Nikken of Japan, reputed to have annual sales from its therapeutic magnet products of \$1.5 billion. It is not clear why the National Institutes of Health should sponsor research that this giant company is itself unwilling to perform.

Especially puzzling is that our Government has not followed the advice of those involved in bioelectromagnetics research who three years ago suggested potentially important alternative electromagnetic therapies with possible applications in arthritis, epilepsy, wound healing, sleep, pain relief, Parkinson's disease, spinal cord injury and immune response. ABRAHAM R. LROFF, Rochester, Mich., June 18, 1996
The writer is director of medical physics at Oakland University.

Peru Has No Qualms on Mummy's Exhibition

To the Editor:
You portray alternative medicine as rife with pseudoscience (front page, June 17, 18). But multiple studies published in peer-reviewed journals show that, for example, the herb feverfew prevents migraine; massage helps premature babies gain weight; chiropractic helps back pain; homeopathy helps hay fever.

Where conventional medicine has effective treatments, there is no need for alternative medicine, but where therapies are imperfect, exploring therapeutic options is a worthy goal. It is not a waste of tax dollars to

To the Editor:
Contrary to your June 17 article, herbal medicine is integral to medicine and pharmacy. More than 25 percent of modern drugs are derived from higher plants. In fact, the word "drug" derives from a Dutch word, "droge," meaning to dry, as plants were dried for use as medicines.

Your article also suggests that herbs are untested. Thousands of studies are conducted each year on the chemistry, pharmacology, toxicology and clinical use of hundreds of herbs, their individual chemical constituents and whole extracts contain-

Peru Has No Qualms on Mummy's Exhibition

To the Editor:
Contrary to an impression left by "Should Just Anybody Be Allowed to Stare?" (Week in Review, June 16), on the disputed exhibition in Washington of the remains of a teen-age Incan girl sacrificed on an Andean mountaintop 500 years ago, many Peruvians, including many scientists, have been involved in this project, which is conducted under the auspices of Catholic University in Arequipa, Peru.

The ice mummy was transferred to the United States with the approval of local groups and Peruvian authorities, including the President of Peru and the director of the National Institute of Culture, both of whom were present at the exhibition's opening at the National Geographic Society in Washington.

A comment by the prehistorian Konrad Spindler against the displaying of mummies in general is hard to understand in view of his arriving in Peru last October with a German television crew to have himself filmed beside the ice mummy. In addition, it is hardly in keeping with the films in which Dr. Spindler has collaborated or with his book about the Tyrolean Iceman, which includes several close-up color photographs of that mummy.

Why would an Austrian who has never worked in Peru presume to dictate to Peruvians how they should deal with their cultural patrimony, especially knowing that mummies are commonly on display in Peru and attention needs to be focused on conservation and on preventing the looting of burial sites. The Wash-

ton exhibition has brought these issues to the forefront.

Contrary to your article, Dr. Sonia Guillén, a Peruvian mummy expert, was never a project leader. She left our project voluntarily before she became aware of the ice mummy's trip to the United States.

The case in which the mummy rests is an environmentally controlled unit that assures the mummy's long-term conservation. Bringing the mummy to the United States has allowed us to monitor the unit. Until now, such a unit was not available in Peru, but two have been donated to Catholic University there.

Whereas taking the mummy in and out of a closed case for specialists to view would have caused conservation problems, its display in the custom-designed freezer has allowed many to become involved. Thus, contrary to Dr. Guillén, science took precedence over politics in the decision to send the mummy to Washington. JOSÉ ANTONIO CHAVEZ, JOHAN REINHARD, Washington, June 17, 1996

The writers are co-directors of the Incan ice mummy project at Catholic University in Peru.

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To the Editor:

More light needs to be shed on the work being done at centers like Boston's Beth Israel Hospital to evaluate unconventional medical therapies (front page, June 17). The objective is to distinguish useful from useless therapies. Are they safe, effective and can they reduce health expenditures? When they work, do they work because of some herb, needle, pressure point or the belief in such?

The ultimate worth of these therapies will not be based on anecdotes but rather on the accumulated evidence of investigation. There is a Chinese proverb, "Real gold is not afraid of the hottest fire." It is the responsibility of the medical establishment to insure that these therapies do not remain untested forever. DAVID EISENBERG, M.D., Boston, June 17, 1996

The writer is director of the Center for Alternative Medicine Research at Beth Israel Hospital-Harvard Medical School.

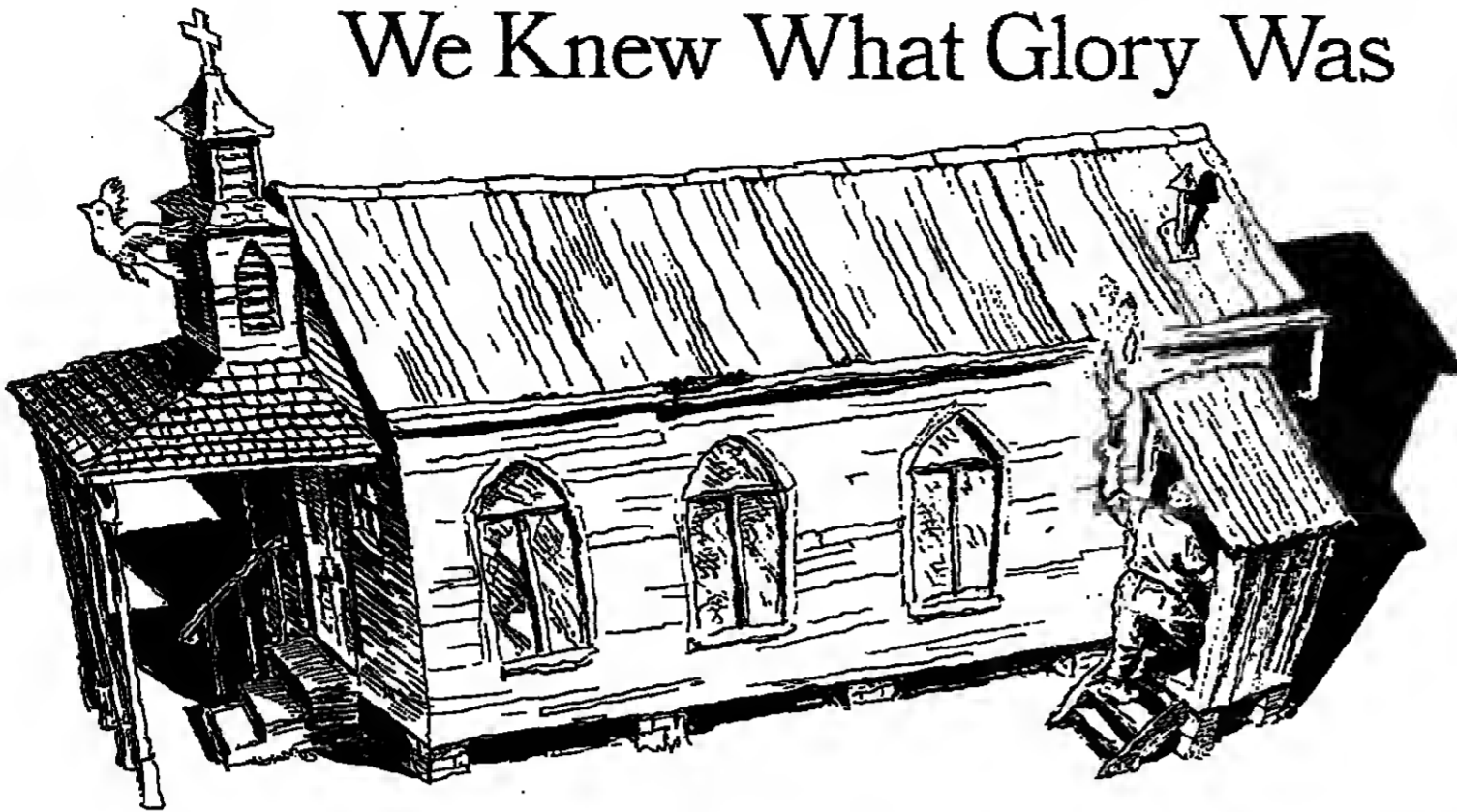
To the Editor:

Your June 17 front-page article says that New York insurance plans must pay for podiatrists but "do not have to pay for other alternative treatments."

Podiatrists perform surgery, prescribe medicine, treat sports-related injuries and foot problems and are recognized as experts in diabetic foot disease. Podiatry is not alternative medicine. PAUL M. GREENBERG, New York, June 18, 1996
The writer is a podiatrist.

السنة السادسة

We Knew What Glory Was



By Shirlee Taylor Haizlip

When I was growing up in the 40's and 50's, my father would pack up the car every August and squeeze in my mother, four children, several dolls and a picnic lunch. It was the time before air-conditioning, and the drive was hot, dusty and, after New York, without bathrooms.

We left long before dawn, because for a dark-skinned man driving a large shiny sedan holding a white-looking wife, the journey from Connecticut to the South was not without peril. It was essential that each leg of the trip be made before nightfall. We knew that safety lay within the homes and the churches of my father's friends and colleagues, the black ministers we would visit. They were our underground railroad.

My father was a Baptist pastor who ministered to a medium-sized black church in a Connecticut mill town. His father was a minister who had founded a major black Baptist church in Washington. At the beginnings of their careers, both had led small country churches in North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia. Later, as popular officers of the National Baptist Convention, they were known for their dramatic oratory. They were frequent guest preachers at rural churches throughout the South.

Traditionally, my father and his father before him preached a week of revival services at these houses of worship. After my grandfather died, my father continued to return to the South each year. For him, the churches were touchstones of faith, of culture, of triumph over slavery. For him, they were living, breathing links to the past and an indestructible foundation for the future.

There was more than a spiritual connection. When they were in college, my four uncles, all of whom played musical instruments and had glorious voices, would sometimes join my father and present musical programs of spirituals and the light

Shirlee Taylor Haizlip is the author of "The Sweeter the Juice: A Family Memoir in Black and White."

classics to appreciative Southern congregations, all too often deprived of other cultural experiences.

At other times, my dad, resplendent in a white suit, would offer solo recitals. When he crooned "Danny Boy" or "When I Grow Too Old to Dream" in his high tenor vibrato and with exquisite diction, the fans moved a little faster, the backs sat up a little straighter and the shouts of "Sing it, Revi!" were as heartfelt as they were for his renditions of "Amazing Grace" or "His Eye Is on the Sparrow."

I cannot bear the Three Tenors singing without thinking of my father standing in the pulpit of a spare little church, singing like a melancholy angel.

To reach many of the churches, we drove up deserted dirt roads covered

What burns with the black churches.

by gracefully arching kudzu-fringed trees. Just when we thought we would never get there, a clearing materialized. There at its edge stood the church, often the only building for miles around, plain as a line drawing in a children's coloring book, more often than not in need of a fresh coat of paint. Never lonely looking, it seemed instead a natural part of the landscape, splendid in its simplicity.

Before the service, with admonitions of keeping our "best" clothes clean fading in our ears, my siblings and I would play with other children, running and jumping, catching fireflies, hiding and seeking in the darkening silver twilight. Each night, the revival crowd would get bigger and livelier. By the end of the week, the church was full, the room was hot and the penitents were saved.

During every service, I watched as my father, in high Baptist style, "picture painted" the stories of Moses and Job, Ruth and Esther. I listened as he moaned and hummed and sang the tales of W. E. B. Du Bois and Frederick Douglass, the Scottsboro Boys and Emmett Till. I clapped for

joy as he brought the worshipers to their feet with promises of survival now and salvation later. In that place, at that time, we knew what glory was.

After the service, in the pitch blackness of a muggy summer night, we would drive back to our host's house, listening to parish gossip and ghost stories, accept offers of freshly made iced tea and every once in a while homemade ice cream. Sweetly, another church night had ended.

The best was yet to come. At the close of the week, we celebrated the homecoming, the end of the week-long revival, behind the church, where picnic benches were felicitously placed among sweet-smelling pines. We ate miles of delicious food and drank lakes of sweet punch.

Usually there was a modest graveyard somewhere near the picnic grounds. We did not play there. Our parents had taught us better than that. Mold-covered gravestones barely bitted at the life stories they marked. The bones of slaves lay side by side with the bones of their emancipated children. All of their spirits were free to be free, at last.

As I grew older, I would learn about the lives of the church members from the comfort of my mother's side. I would grow to understand that there, in that place, every single church member was somebody.

In God's house, if nowhere else, they were C.E.O.'s and presidents, directors and chairmen, counselors and managers. In God's house, if nowhere else, they were women of infinite grace and men of profound dignity. Forever, amen.

With traditions that began in slavery, the parishioners carried forward, bit by precious bit, the dreams of their forebears. In their roles as deacons, trustees, missionaries and choir members, those domestics, bandymen, cotton and tobacco farmers and teachers sang and prayed on hard, scabbly benches, validating and celebrating themselves and one another, warmly and well, week after week, year after year, generation after generation.

Surely their oils and essences seeped into the well-worn pews. Surely the whorls of their fingertips left lovely striations in the wood, at which their grandbabies would stare before they fell off to sleep.

Not only did they tend to the church's business, they looked after

the elderly and the infirm, encouraged the young to learn, learn, learn and rallied their communities in times of economic stress, natural disaster or social crisis. It did not escape my understanding that the church encompassed all. Seldom were there outcasts.

For me as a child, those beautiful little structures were places beyond enchantment. As an adult, I understood that the churches were indeed the collective soul of black folks.

I never thought that this particular reality could end. Although I have visited the South as an adult and know that some of those churches have been abandoned, enlarged or modernized, in my mind's eye all of them remain storybook sanctuaries, testament to my own faith, the faith of my father, his father and the larger black community.

Heartsick now, my soul's light has been dimmed. Church after church in the South has been destroyed by fire, torched by arsonists. I watch the television images as long as I can. Then I hide my eyes behind my fingers, peeking at the screen as if it were a horror film, while hellish flames consume the heavenly places of my youth.

I ask my father across the void, Who will put out the flames, Dad? Where can we go now to be safe?

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Chaos Becomes You

WASHINGTON Things have gotten really bad. Bill Clinton needs a scientific explanation.

"This has been sort of a crazy week," he told Presidential scholars on Thursday, as the F.B.I., Secret Service and Justice Department skittered away from a White House in dishabille. "I was hoping that maybe one of the scholars could explain chaos theory to me and I could apply it to what I'm trying to do."

Chaos theory is a new science devoted to explaining phenomena that are unpredictable and disorderly.

The President could teach chaos theory to the scholars.

Why are the Clintons, who sold themselves in '92 as idealistic and ethical, surrounded by sleazeballs?

The answer — despite the President's tut-tutting at the F.B.I. dirt on the White House rug — may well be that the Clintons are in need of sleazeball services. This is a White House that prizes loyalty over maturity, politics over government, polling over principles, a place where righteousness is measured by rapid response.

Lashed to the center by Dick Morris, Mr. Clinton plays the strict, moral Daddy. But the young people in his own White House are behaving like a bunch of fatherless children.

As Mr. Clinton panders absurdly, supporting amending the Constitution to protect victims' rights, 37-year-old Craig Livingstone still draws Federal pay, though he victimized more than 400 people by improperly securing their F.B.I. files.

The 60's cry, "Never trust anyone over 30," may have to be reversed, give or take a few years. Twice now the F.B.I. has been abused by Clinton officials who were youngsters when Donald Segretti and G. Gordon Liddy were getting famous.

The swaggering Mr. Livingstone, former restaurant bouncer and campaign gofer, was investigated in '93 for threatening to "beat in" the face of a Chevy Chase neighbor in a fight over the woman's barking dog, Dennis Casey, a Pittsburgh politico who worked with Mr. Livingstone and Anthony Marceca on the 1984 Gary Hart campaign, said that the pair wanted to peddle nasty personal stories against Mondale supporters to blackmail them into switching sides.

These guys are plumbers. How could Hillary Clinton, who began as a lawyer investigating Watergate, permit such Nixonian echoes?

Rather than greater vigilance against abusing power, she seems to

have adopted the paranoid 5 o'clock shadow lessons: Never give an inch, get them before they get you, and surround yourself with the servile.

Aides and friends defend the Clintons blindly and not always candidly. This has been elevated to a management style in the White House and party. (Does anyone buy the Democratic explanation that Rose Law Firm billing records could have been moved by construction workers?)

"The personality of the White House flows from top to bottom," says Pat Caddell, the enfant terrible of the Carter White House. "We did a lot of stupid things, but we never would have done anything like abusing the F.B.I., because you knew if Carter found out, he would personally strangle you with his bare hands."

Just as Ronald Reagan created an atmosphere that allowed an Ollie North to swashbuckle and bend rules in the basement of the White House, so the Clintons created an atmosphere that allowed Mr. Livingstone

The pathology of plumbers.

and Mr. Marceca to do the same, on a smaller scale.

Ken Duberstein, the Reagan chief of staff whose file ended up in Mr. Livingstone's vault, blames "the celebrated War Room mentality, the instantaneous response, the opposition research — this atmosphere of preparedness and paranoia from the Clinton campaign became embedded in the White House."

The Clinton crowd is admired for agility, not backbone. The Washington Post juxtaposed two George Stephanopoulos quotes about Mr. Livingstone. In '94 Mr. Stephanopoulos said: "He does a terrific job. All I know is that anything that has to do with security or logistics — Craig's going to take care of it." And now: "I don't know him that well. He's a guy that was around."

A USA Today poll shows voters shunning at Mr. Clinton's flaws, viewing him as "a likable rogue," as Ross Baker of Rutgers put it.

So Bill Clinton looks to be running against himself, with the election in the bag. But that's the thing about chaos theory. It teaches that there's no escaping unpredictable patterns. □

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Defusing the E-Bomb

President Clinton flies to France this week for the annual G-7 meeting. Here's the speech he won't be giving to the gathering of Japanese, Canadian and European leaders:

Gentlemen, as we gather here this year, it's clear that we have no agenda. The reason is obvious: We are moving in opposite directions on the economic front. In this election year, the U.S. is moving from what Richard Gephardt calls an era of "deficit politics," focused on reducing our huge government debt, to an era of "income politics," focused on lifting the wages and lowering the taxes of workers. At the same time, though, you Europeans and Japanese are moving from an era of income politics, during which you swaddled your workers in lavish pension, health-care and retirement benefits, to an era of deficit politics, in which you've discovered you can't afford all these entitlement programs anymore, are trying to cut back, but your workers won't let you. I saw those protests in Germany and France on CNN.

The fact that we are moving in opposite directions is going to be a serious problem for all of us, and it's what we really should be discussing. From the American point of view, we are deluding ourselves if we think we can go back to the Reagan era of income politics, where the Government ran up huge deficits as it cut taxes and refused to cut entitlements. Unfortunately, though, my opponent, Bob Dole, is already planning to unveil a massive, Reagan-like tax-cut plan, with no serious deficit reduction. And I'm just as guilty. I've been throwing out proposals for tax

7 debtors in search of a solution.

deductions for college tuition, assisting first-time home buyers and resisting any deep cuts in Social Security, Medicare or Medicaid.

If either of us carries through on such promises we will be headed back to the huge deficits of the 1980's. But as all of you know, the international financial environment that sustained the Reagan deficits of the 1980's, and made them relatively painless for the U.S. public to absorb, no longer exists. The dirty little secret of Reaganomics was that it worked, and was sustainable, because the Japanese, the Arabs and the Germans all had surplus savings that they were ready to use to buy our Treasury bills, and thereby finance our deficit, so that we wouldn't have to raise interest rates sky-high. But times have changed. You can't save us anymore. The Japanese have their own banking crisis and have to finance their own aging population; the Arabs are broke, and the Germans are busy trying to finance their own deficit, run up by the cost of unifying East and West Germany.

As Thomas Gallagher of Lehman Brothers Global Equity Research points out, the longer we wait to downsize our entitlement programs the costlier it will be. He says that if we Americans decided today that we wanted to put Social Security, Medi-

care and Medicaid on a firm financial footing that would take us well into the next century, it would require a 15 percent tax hike across the board. If we wait until the next century, it will require a tax hike triple that amount. We all know those are politically unsustainable numbers. Which means we have no choice but to cut entitlements.

So here's the situation: We're all desperately in need of entitlement reform, but we American politicians are running away from it and our people are following us over a cliff. You European and Japanese leaders are at least running in the right direction, but none of your people want to follow. This is going to be trouble, or as Robert Hormats of Goldman Sachs International recently said about the G-7, "Our common failure to reform dramatically expanding entitlement programs is the ticking time bomb underneath us all, and the longer we wait to defuse it, the bigger the explosion will be."

Which gets me back to this meeting. G-7 summits can't change the world, but they can give us each a bit more courage to face our common problems, and a bit more credibility with our own publics by making clear that we are all in the same boat. Let's make this the Entitlement Reform Summit — the one where we all pledge to begin defusing the "E-bomb." Because if we don't, the result will be turmoil. We will have intercontinental conflict, as we each try to suck up the other's savings to finance our deficits, and intergenerational conflict, as our children discover they have to pay for our negligence. □

New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

In many respects, the history of Zionism is co-extensive with the history of the Jewish people in the last hundred years. The intense debate between proponents and opponents of Zionism has abated only with the renewal of Jewish statehood in 1948, when world Jewry rallied in support of the newly-born state.

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F I L M

Immigrants' Tales, Told in Subtle Shades of Gray

By STANFORD J. UNGAR

SAM DEEDS, the crusading sheriff of Rio County, Texas, in the film "Lone Star," has crossed the border to investigate the death years ago of Eladio Cruz, a Mexican-American who used to smuggle friends into the United States by hiding them among the watermelons in his pickup truck.

In a sleazy town just inside Mexico, Sheriff Deeds encounters one Senor Montoya, "the tire king," a grizzled old cynic who lived north of the Rio Grande himself for 15 years. As they talk in the yard of his tire warehouse, Montoya takes a Coke bottle and draws a line in the gravel. He challenges Deeds to step across the line.

"A bird flying south, a rattlesnake," the tire king says to the earnest, somewhat tongue-tied sheriff, "you think he sees this line? You think halfway across that line they start thinking different? Why should a man?"

Deeds protests that the Mexican Government itself has often found the border to be a convenient device to define its authority. But Montoya is not impressed with the role of government on either side of the river. "I'm talking about people here!" he shouts. "Men!"

The confrontation becomes a galvanizing moment in "Lone Star," John Sayles's rich new border drama, which stars Chris Cooper as Sheriff Deeds, Elizabeth Peña, Kris Kristofferson, Matthew McConaughey and Frances McDormand. Trying to solve a complex mystery involving previous sheriffs, including his own father, Sam Deeds encounters the many forces that artificially divide people from one another.

In the film, which opened on Friday, we see old immigrants who express contempt for new immigrants. "Anglo" parents who resent a teacher's efforts to explain how the Texas settlers took land from the local Mexicans, politicians who prey on the public's fears to push construction of an unnecessary new county jail, and black people caught in the middle of it all. In this context,

Sanford J. Ungar, dean of the School of Communication at American University in Washington, D.C., is the author of "Fresh Blood: The New American Immigrants," published last year by Simon & Schuster.

the border seems like just one more contrivance, albeit a uniquely symbolic one.

Mr. Sayles's latest movie is compelling for many reasons, but an important one is that it speaks honestly about immigration along our southern border. Until relatively recently, the Federal Government did not even count as immigrants the people who crossed that line — or, for that matter, the northern one — on foot. It was assumed there would be a continuous two-way flow, regulated by economic forces and the desire to unite families.

Even now, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's own estimates, fewer than half the illegal immigrants living in the United States crossed the Mexican border to get here. Most came by airplane on valid student or tourist visas and simply overstayed them. Yet the southern frontier is the primary theater of battle for the increasingly militarized struggle to control what has become known as the immigration "problem." It is the place Presidential candidates go to utter sound bites on the subject, the place the Government brandishes its new night-vision scopes and computers.

Thanks to Mr. Sayles and others, film has become one of the few places where one can find reliable information about and meaningful insight into the immigrant experience. While politicians bash immigrants, film makers — and novelists along with them — tell us gripping immigrant stories, recording them before they disappear.

Immigration has long provided grist for movie makers, of course. During the silent era, humor was found in the antics of the awkward, newly arrived outsider. The 30's brought films like "Angels With Dirty Faces," about gangs of toughs, most of them Irish (who were themselves only emerging from pariah status). By 1961, a gang of Puerto Rican immigrants could be found duking it out with the home-grown variety in the movie "West Side Story."

Many films about Jewish families, including Barry Levinson's "Avalon" and Paul Mazursky's "Enemies: A Love Story," based on a novel by Isaac Bashevis Singer, have been grounded in immigrant memories and behavior. And Francis Ford Coppola's "Godfather" and its kin recorded the traditions of Italian family life even as they drew on the tribal rituals of the Mafia.

But in recent years the theme of immigration has been used in more

explicit fashion and handled in a far more complex and subtle way. "Little Odessa," James Gray's 1995 film set in the Russian immigrant neighborhood of Brighton Beach in Brooklyn, dealt with a Russian mob hit man and his family relationships.

In Mira Nair's 1992 film "Mississippi Masala," immigrant motel-keepers from India struggled to come to terms not only with Southern white power structure but also with the local black culture. In her 1994 film, "The Perez Family," Ms. Nair took up the strains between the old-line Cuban immigrant establishment in Miami and the Mariellitos, who arrived in the 1960's to disturb their peace and prosperity.

Another film that expanded the view of the American immigrant experience was Wayne Wang's "Joy Luck Club," based on Amy Tan's best seller about four Chinese immigrant women and their assimilated daughters. Even Tom Cruise was thrust into the immigrant action in Ron Howard's "Far and Away," a 1992 epic that portrayed new arrivals from Ireland joining the western land rush in the 19th century.

From abroad, evocative films have also emerged: Hanif Kureishi's "My Beautiful Laundrette," about Pakistani immigrants in London, or Mathieu Kassovitz's "La Haine," about strife and social dislocation in the housing projects of suburban Paris, or Gianni Amelio's "Lamerica," about Albanians who long to migrate to Italy. From oorth of the border, Canada, comes "Double Happiness," Mina Sum's 1995 film about a Chinese girl who rebels against her traditionalist immigrant parents.

The proliferation of immigration-related films may reflect the banality of much of their competition as well as the desire of immigrants and their children to tell their family stories. But it is a relief to discover heroes and villains in the barrios and the ethnic enclaves instead of just on horseback, in nuclear-powered submarines, or in the courtroom and the war room (not to mention the newsroom).

One of the best of the recent crop is last year's "Mi Familia," the tangled tale of three generations in a Mexican immigrant family in Los Angeles, directed by Gregory Nava and narrated by Edward James Olmos, who also has a starring role.

The film offers an alternative, if not revisionist, view of certain aspects of American history and values in the 20th century. When young,



Roshan Seth, right, and Sharmila Tagore in "Mississippi Masala," above, and Jennifer Lopez in "Mi Familia" — Immigration stories with twists.



Rico Torres/New Line Cinema

pregnant Maria Sanchez — a United States citizen — is picked up on a Los Angeles street in 1933 and deported by train to central Mexico without so much as a chance to go home and tell her husband and children, it is not mere movie-making hyperbole. It is precisely what happened to thousands of people during the Depression in Southern California and some northern cities.

Two years later, Mrs. Sanchez and Chucho, the son she was carrying in her womb when she was deported,

gress vote to enlarge the Border Patrol and cut back the access of legal immigrants and new citizens to Federal programs, we go to the movies to observe how hard immigrants actually work. As has been the case at many previous moments of economic uncertainty in American history, there is widespread popular support today for new controls on immigration, yet immigrants are as much in demand as ever.

The diligence of the immigrant in the face of frustration is the theme of "Nueba Yol" (1996), directed by Angel Muniz, about a confused Dominican's economic hardships and absurd experiences in New York City. The film, which stars Luisita Marti, a popular Dominican comedian, has been seen primarily so far in the Dominican Republic (the source of New York's largest community of new immigrants today) but is beginning to be more broadly distributed here.

Although many of the recent immigrant movies are steeped in sentiment, they remind us of the courage and fortitude required of immigrants both on their journeys and after they arrive. The films elaborate their joys and hardships in a way the public dialogue does not.

Even Love Stories Couldn't Save Cambodian Cinema

By SETH MYDANS

FILMING has slowed drastically on the set of the television mini-series "Full Moon Ghost." The producer has just acquired clip-on microphones from the United States, and the actors must now take time to memorize their lines.

"Everything used to be dubbed, and it didn't matter if the actors made mistakes," said the producer, Noy Rauv. "Now everybody is complaining that we are taking too long to film."

But the rest of the process is still quick. The series is being shot, like all Cambodian film making had been annihilated by the mad agrarian reformers of the Khmer Rouge.

From 1975 to 1979, that radical Maoist regime caused the deaths of more than a million people, targeting in particular the educated classes and killing off 90 percent of the country's artists, actors, musicians, dancers and teachers.

Starting in 1979, and for the first years of freedom, people starved for entertainment gathered under the stars for all-night productions of local dramas called "lakhon bassac," their children sleeping beside them on mats.

Then the video camera arrived. Around 1988, well-to-do refugees began returning for visits from the United States and leaving VHS camcorders behind with their relatives. Enterprising amateurs went wild, turning out hundreds of nearly identical movies, and small movie theaters in which patrons sat on rows of benches opened all over the country.

The film makers, inventing scripts as they went along, worked as fast as the cameras could roll, on budgets of \$2,000 or \$3,000 and on schedules measured in weeks.

"It was like community-access programming run amok," said John Eli Shapiro, a Los Angeles-based screenwriter who has written about Cambodian film making for American trade journals.

No more than 16 people would provide all the voices, dubbing two or three characters per story. Mae Moen, one of the busiest performers, claimed to have been in 80 productions in two years, her voice changing from video to video. Such well-known names had more work than they could handle, and they quickly

became stars. "They would contract with about 10 productions at the same time, and then they would choose which one they would go to," said Phin Chanda, one of the industry's failed entrepreneurs, who made only one film. "So my film took one year to finish because the stars were not available."

Mrs. Phin emerged from the ordeal chastened. "It is not so easy to make money," she said.

Her experience was typical. When she began, the movie business looked like fast money. But by the time her film was done, audiences had lost interest, and video pirates were undercutting the market.

"Even my poor film was stolen," Mrs. Phin said.

Meanwhile, audiences had grown tired of seeing the same story over and over. (Political films, like Ivon Hem's 1989 movie about Pol Pot, leader of the Khmer Rouge, were an anomaly; what audiences craved were romances.)

"There was only one subject: love, love, love," said Dy Soknath, deputy director of TVK, a Government-run television station. "They fall in love with each other, they walk across the garden, and then they suffer. That was the only subject of Cambodian films."

Mrs. Phin agreed. Her film, "Oh! The Legacy of Love!," was exactly like all the others. By the time she was ready to distribute it, at the end of 1990, television sets were spreading, bringing large audiences in homes and cafes. Even in villages without electricity, people were watching small battery-powered black-and-white sets. And films from Thailand, Hoog Kong and Taiwan had captured the national fancy.

The collapse of the Cambodian film industry was rapid. Most actors, directors and crews returned to their lives as teachers, waitresses, clerks and government workers. But some struggled on. The most popular personalities now tour on stage in the United States, France and Australia, where Cambodians refugees have become more affluent than the relatives they left behind and have more money to spend on entertainment.

Boy could meet girl only so many times, and competition got fierce. Now, an industry has all but collapsed,

TINTINNABULATION

By FRANCES HANSEN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

1 Headed downward
5 "Forever" girl
10 "Not guilty," e.g.
14 Movie moguls
19 Sportscaster Rote
20 Nursery rhyme vegetables
21 Sentry's cry
22 Man of many words
23 Sans ornamentation
25 Best seller of 1944
27 Côte d'Azur resort
28 Kind of service
30 "I Write the Songs" singer
31 Charlie Brown's belligerent friend
32 Drug-yielding plants
33 Chico's aunt
34 Island off the west coast of South America
37 Lumberjack's tournament
38 Like some garages
43 Greer of sports and TV
44 Stag line's favorite
46 Joseph Lincoln book "Cap'n"
47 Eastern title
48 Golf champ Ballesteros
49 Flag
50 Fly in the ointment
51 Beovulent moopooly, once
52 In a narrow escape
56 Start of a book
57 Exit on the sly
59 Checks
60 Whitewater rafting site
61 Dress cut
62 Mercurio's friend
63 Wood hyacinth
64 Frederick Ashtoo ballet
66 Many a Hitchcock performance
67 French director Tavernier
70 Foreign dignitaries
71 Amaryllis
73 Space station name
74 One of a Latin trio
75 Kipling's Rikki-Tikki
76 Desperate
77 Start of a volume I label
78 One with a habit
79 Insurrectionism
83 Italian holy man
85 Supreme Court, e.g.
87 Carols
88 Persian treat
89 Ballot abbr.
90 Shaded walk
91 Kind of land
92 Oblique
96 Taylor's third
97 Leprechaun locale
101. "Cautionary Tales" writer

DOWN

1 Gull-like bird
2 Boston suburb
3 "The Stars Get in My Eyes" (1953 country hit)
4. "OklaHoma!" choreographer
5 Per
6 Chaotic
7 Cousin of "Phooey!"
8 Wyo.-to-Mo. direction
9 Cousin of the coyote
10 "Aida" figure
11 Singer Patti et al.
12 Puck
13 Mote
14 Of the skull
15 Lion's or bull's place
16 "I've Got"
17 MGM Grand site
18 Puck
24 Audible oavigational marker
26 Discoconcert
29 Rapper with the group Body Count
32 Whispered sweet nothings
34 Wedges (in)
35 Actor Paul
36 "Camille Claudel" actress
37 Strengthen, as a levee
38 "Irish Rose"
39 Writer Ida
40 "Kings Row" author
41 Sappho's Muse
42 "Eat hearty!"
44 Largest U.S. city hospital
45 Race: Prefix
48 Maçon's river
50 Not so zany
52 Drums, slangily
53 Headache remedy
54 Where Mocha is
55 Attach, in a way
56 Wingding
58 A con artist may go by it
60 "Sunrise Serenade" composer Frankie
62 Beachgoer's item
63 Murder mystery suspects, often
64 Praying figure
65 Belgian province or its capital
68 Nitpick
67 Ecstasy
68 "The Untouchables" villain
69 Wilt
71 Indian of British Columbia
72 One of the Astaires
75 Compassionate
79 More straited
80 Opens
81 Sign at an antique shop
82 Twitted
83 Starchy tuber foodstuff
84 Confounded
86 Growing in pairs, botanically
88 Lurch
90 United
91 Stay fairly stationary, as a ship
92 Major Barbara's creator
93 Foreign currency
94 First name in TV encoding
95 20's look
98 Marine shade
99 Former Senate Armed Forces Committee head
100 Secretary, e.g.
102 Roar
104 Falstaff's quaff
105 Activity for Caesar

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SEATTLE GIBBETS JAFFRA
 ANGORAS URIGOLE FANONES
 KONRADADENAUER ALMONS
 ELON LIE ELASTIC EIDGE
 MAME AGSEY DEADMAN
 SKEDADDLE DODDAS DEN
 HONOR ISMT RYES POD
 ESSENCE ERASED ORATE
 SEA LUCAN ZOOASTERS
 GAY LAODOG ALLTHEE
 ISR OLIO ENI SVUT VIV
 STILLER ERIDAISSIS ESY
 MINIFORESS KHELP DEE
 ORIELS LASSOE TODEROS
 DUNA BARE RASA OVERT
 BBA CRABDAD CANADABRY
 REDHEAD HELEN TEST
 TIVE COPPOLA ENO TIVE
 TLAISE FDEVERANDADAK
 LEIDER GUSTER PASTOR
 OSSIE STIERS ALICESTE

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

שבת 24 ביוני 1996

A man apart: Montreal's municipal Lubavitcher

LEORA EREN-FRUCHT

IN a town whose most prominent feature is a large cross, you don't expect to find a mezuza in City Hall. But Montreal's municipal offices have changed a bit since Saulie Zajdel, a Lubavitch yeshiva graduate, became a deputy mayor.

Zajdel, a bearded, kippa-clad father of five is something of an anomaly in the headquarters of La Ville de Montreal: an anglophone among francophones, a Jew among Catholics — and a religious Jew at that. "People thought I was crazy when I first ran for office," recalls the 40-year-old Zajdel.

For a politically ambitious Lubavitch Jew, it was the next best thing to running for office in Israel — and a lot more practical. "I was always interested in Israeli politics," explains Zajdel. "One morning I realized that if I was ever going to be serious about politics I'd have to do something about it. I wasn't ready to move to Israel. I was living in Montreal. As a complete unknown, the best place to start was at the lowest level — municipal politics."

Zajdel, probably the first Orthodox Jew to enter Montreal politics, surprised everyone by winning the 1986 nomination in his riding (constituency) to represent the party that went on to sweep the election. Members of the Lubavitch community — who are concentrated in his Victoria riding — came out in full force on his behalf. Their presence at the nomination meeting prompted one disenchanted loser to write that the sight of so many black-hatted Jews gathered together conjured up images of Alfred Hitchcock's film *The Birds*.

Aside from that comment — which Zajdel believes was made by a Jew — the Montreal politician says he has encountered very little antisemitism.

Some Lubavitch voters assumed that the Rebbe instructed Zajdel to run for office. "Not so," he says. "I asked for the rabbi's blessing — and didn't actually get it until six weeks later when I'd already won the election."

While the support of the Lubavitch community was helpful in winning the initial nomination, it took more than that to win three successive elections in a riding that includes sizable Chinese, Latino and black populations. In the 1990 municipal election, Zajdel won the largest majority of any Montreal city councillor, beating four candidates to win 79



Saulie Zajdel, probably the first Orthodox Jew to enter Montreal politics, has been a fixture at City Hall since 1986.

know what it is like to be a minority: I understand the sense of insecurity felt by French Canadians living in a sea of English-speaking North Americans." His speech — and his vote in favor of the controversial name change which he had originally opposed — provoked an outpouring of emotion. French Canadian councillors came up to him and cried, some even hugging and kissing him.

SINCE 1990, Zajdel has been a councillor in the governing Jewish Montreal Party, and was appointed one of nine members of the executive committee (the equivalent of a deputy mayor) in 1994. He deals with real estate, supplies and services, overseeing a \$200 million budget.

As the only Jewish councillor in the party in power, he is the address for problems in the entire Jewish community. He has won zoning changes for synagogues and special parking allowances for Jewish holidays, and was instrumental in establishing Montreal's first Jewish shelter for battered women.

He was also one of the driving forces behind Mayor Pierre Bourque's recent visit to Israel — the first ever by a Montreal mayor. Zajdel, who accompanied the mayor, hopes his next visit to Israel will be a more permanent one.

After two decades of dreaming about Israel — and Israeli politics — he plans to make aliya with his wife and children. He has already announced that he will not run for reelection in Montreal.

"I see my place in Israel," he says. And his place on the Israeli political spectrum? "Definitely to the right — perhaps in the Likud or the National Religious Party," he speculates.

For a Jew who was closely associated with the Habad movement, Zajdel holds some views that, by his own admission, "border on heresy" in Israel.

For one thing, he favors a separation between religion and state: "I don't think you bring anyone closer to Judaism by forcing people to close down streets. I think the religious parties have become so identified with politics that religion is suffering because of it."

As an observant, right-wing Jew who favors separation between religion and state, Zajdel admits it might not be easy to find his niche in Israeli politics. But then, as the only anglophone Jew in a French Catholic party, Saulie Zajdel is used to being the odd man in.

percent of the vote in his riding.

"I worked hard to assist everyone in the community," says Zajdel, who helped arrange a generous municipal rent subsidy for the black community association and was later instrumental in building the first sports center in the district. "I had a lot to prove. I was seen as a symbol. If I looked bad, so would my philosophy — that of an observant Jew who follows Torah. What was at stake was *Hillul Hashem* versus *Kiddush Hashem* [desecration versus sanctification of God's name]."

As an Orthodox Jew, Zajdel has had to make a few compromises for the sake of realpolitik: "I'll shake a woman's hand — something many Orthodox Jews won't do. I can't meet 3,000 people door-to-door and not give them my hand."

Indeed Zajdel says that one of the reasons he entered politics "was to show that a fellow with a kippa doesn't have to live in a closed box. He can be open to the world and accept varying viewpoints."

That part comes easy to Zajdel who, with his love of rock 'n' roll, is not exactly your typical Habad scholar. The city councillor admits he has a special fondness for the music of Steppenwolf, is sorry he never learned to play guitar, and enjoys a cold beer from time to time.

For all his openness, Zajdel sees divine significance in everything, including the number of votes by which he beat his opponents: twice by 36, once by 360 — which he notes is the numerical equivalent of a double *hai*.

When he first entered City Hall in 1986, Zajdel was something of an enigma in his own party, the Montreal Citizens' Movement (MCM), which consisted mainly of staunch Quebec nationalists. He made his mark during an impassioned debate about whether to rename a major street in Montreal after the late Quebec premier and champion of separatism Rene Levesque. Zajdel told City Council that "as a Jew, I

Paying lip service to environmental protection laws

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

HOW many times, seeing someone littering, polluting water or otherwise damaging the environment, have we said: "There should be a law against that!"

Well the chances are there is such a law. There are some quite comprehensive laws against pollution, for water-source protection and for animal protection. The problem is that all to often these laws are simply not enforced.

Despite a really good and explicit law against polluting water sources, every holiday weekend literally hundreds of people wash their greasy plates and throw a good part of their litter into the Kinneret. Although a Kinneret management warden may tell them not to do this, no one ever gets fined for littering or for polluting the Kinneret.

There are also some very good laws to prevent air pollution, and specifically against burning garbage in the open air. Yet in countless towns the local authorities make a garbage bonfire every day right in a residen-

tial area. In my town the acrid smoke from burning plastic, a known carcinogen, pours into the classroom of a nearby kindergarten and all the other places in the vicinity, and yet mothers who have hysterics if someone smokes a cigarette outdoors near their children never say a word. Nor do the police or anyone else interfere.

And at every demonstration people feel they have an absolute right to ignite rubber tires as a part of their protest; they and their children dance around columns of fetid black smoke that pollutes the countryside for miles and almost asphyxiates motorists stranded in traffic jams caused by the demonstration. The police look on benignly while all this is going on.

As for animal protection, the law clearly states that it is illegal to cause undue suffering to an animal. Yet even when I and others have gone to the police to report people for throwing unwanted dogs, puppies and kittens out of their cars and driving away, even when the police have been given the offender's license number, no action is taken.

One can only conclude that an awful lot of these laws are on the books only as lip service to the image of a civilized and modern country. No one, it would seem, ever really meant that they should be taken seriously. And if no one does take them seriously then who can blame the police for turning away with a shrug of the shoulder?

I do not, by any means, suggest an Indonesian-style tyranny where graffitiists can be public whipped or made to scrub the streets wearing a shirt labeling them as offenders. Between the normal enforcement of the law and the Indonesian system there is a very long distance. Unfortunately we haven't even started on that particular journey.



Schizophrenia — helping others out of a family tragedy

MEGGIN Hollister had longed to unlock the secrets of her big sister's mind.

For 18 years, she wondered why schizophrenia snatched away Annick, the pretty sister she adored, the A-rated student, the sophomore class vice president. Meggin was only 12 when the Greek chorus started in Annick's head, when the demons drove the 16-year-old to the streets, then to padded solitary-confinement cells.

As an American high school student, Meggin looked for answers to what caused her sister's illness in college biochemistry texts. As an undergraduate at the University of Southern California (USC), she hung on the words of noted researchers. Finally, as a graduate student there, she got to test a theory of her own, based on a medical complication her mother had while carrying Annick in her womb.

Meggin suspected a possible link between schizophrenia and a pregnant woman's immune system, which can produce antibodies that harm the developing baby's brain.

She spent months looking for that link in a sample of medical records of pregnant women and their children. Finally, in February 1995, Meggin waited impatiently in a crowded research lab until the computer spit back her statistical analysis. She stared at the screen in disbelief.

"Oh, my God," she thought. "The implications..." She checked and rechecked her data, then burst into her professor's office with the news of her discovery.

In January, the *Archives of General Psychiatry* published Meggin's finding.

The major medical journal hailed her paper as a "landmark study." Experts say Meggin's work could help to pinpoint one of the causes of schizophrenia and lead to possible ways to prevent it. Hers is part of a growing body of research indicating that obstetrical complications, rather than social conditions, can lead to the disease.

Meggin's finding is a remarkable coda to her family's long struggle to help Annick. Parents Patsy and Hal Hollister work full-

time overseeing a national organization that has raised nearly \$500,000 for research into mental illness and for mental-health groups in Southern California's Orange and Los Angeles counties.

Their son, John, 35, became interested in medicine because of Annick and works in marketing for a large Philadelphia-based pharmaceutical company. He helps his parents and Meggin in their work.

And Meggin, 30, recently won a \$60,000 "Young Investigator" grant from the country's largest public donor of mental-health research funds.

As a child, Annick was difficult. She pushed when she should have pulled, she touched a hot stove twice, she threw tantrums.

But it was nothing she wouldn't grow out of, her parents thought. Patsy and Hal, who have no family history of mental illness, never considered schizophrenia.

As a teenager, Annick was leggy and taunt, funny and smart. To her parents' dismay, she started to smoke marijuana and ditch school.

In 1978, she dropped out after serving one day as sophomore vice president. Later that year, she had her first psychotic episode at a Halloween party. She was howling at the moon when the police came to haul her home.

Her bewildered parents put her to bed, but Meggin's screams soon brought them running — Annick had tried to slit her wrists. For the next 10 years, she was out of control. She spent half the time in mental hospitals and the other half on the streets.

Meggin was scared and confused at the changes in her sister. She would withdraw quietly to her room during Annick's outbursts.

In high school, she began digging for answers. For a biochemistry class, she went to UCLA's medical school library and looked up schizophrenia. Her curiosity prompted her to major in psychology at USC, then study for her doctorate.

An idea began to brew. At a psychology conference in summer of 1993, a researcher's talk on genes and schizophrenia prompted Meggin to think about when her mother was pregnant with Annick.

Patsy's blood type was A negative, while Annick's was A positive. Patsy had asked psychiatrists if the "negative" vs. "positive" blood was the problem. (Meggin and John are negative.) They said no.

The difference nagged at Meggin, who wanted to examine its implications. She approached her dissertation adviser, Sarnoff Mednick, a renowned schizophrenia researcher.

"Meggin wanted to do this for months before I said, 'OK,'" recalled Mednick, a coauthor of the study. "It was just too much of a long shot."

Meggin started her search by digging through Danish medical records, available because her professor had used them in another study. (Denmark's records are extremely complete and the population is relatively homogeneous.) She looked at blood types and schizophrenia rates. She tossed out variables. A pattern began to emerge.

Eventually, Meggin found that a blood-type difference between a pregnant woman and her fetus can trigger harmful antibodies from the mother that affect fetal brain development.

That complication now is preventable. Since 1968, expectant mothers have been able to take a drug that prevents them from producing the harmful antibodies.

But Meggin's finding opens the door for researchers to study how other immune system complications could disrupt fetal brain development, experts said.

"Perhaps the most important clinical implication of [Meggin's study] is that some forms of schizophrenia may be preventable," wrote psychiatrist Richard Jed Wyatt of the National Institute of Mental Health, in an introduction to her paper.

The blood type difference alone is not the problem, said Meggin. Rather, the incompatibility, along with an unknown factor — such as a genetic predisposition to mental illness — can lead to schizophrenia.

"Maybe my children will be second-generation schizophrenics, or John's children. I don't know," said Meggin, now a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. (Los Angeles Times)

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

Monday, June 24, 1996

12 Israeli firms exhibiting at 'Euroatory 96'

ELDAD BECK
PARIS

TWELVE Israeli companies are participating in "Euroatory 96," the international exhibition of land defense industries, which officially opens today in the presence of French Defense Minister Charles Millon.

The companies - Azimuth, Elbit, Israel Aircraft Industries, IMI, Kinetics, Opgal, Oran Palmach Zova, Plesan Sasa, Rafael, Reshef Technologies and Tadiran - will display capabilities in the design, development, and production of advanced battle-proven systems for use by ground forces.

It is the first time Israel has participated in the prestigious event, which gives land weapons manufacturers an opportunity to promote their equipment to political and military decision-makers.

The major themes of the Israeli pavilion are armored protection; the upgrading of "old warriors," including eastern and western tanks; intelligence - including the use of unmanned aerial vehicles;

navigation and reconnaissance systems; mine-clearance systems; ammunition and smart fuses.

Euroatory is the only international-level exhibition exclusively dedicated to land weapons, a market that is shrinking due to military budget reductions following the end of the Cold War.

This year's exhibition is hosting 724 exhibitors from 33 countries, 19 of which are first-time participants. The only other Middle Eastern country represented is Turkey.

High-level officials and leaders from 80 countries and international organizations have been invited by the Defense Ministry to visit the exhibition. More than 400 defense ministers, chiefs of staff, and other officials are expected.

Israel's delegation is headed by David Levy, who was recently appointed head of the new National Security Council. He is expected to hold meetings with heads of different delegations.

Histadrut declares strike against privatization

MICHAL YUDELMAN

THE Histadrut executive and large unions yesterday officially declared a one-hour strike at 10 a.m. on July 1 to protest the government's intention to privatize state assets, which could lead to massive layoffs.

Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz convened yesterday large union representatives, labor council secretaries, and Na'amat to discuss the battle against privatization and the expected civil service cutbacks.

The Histadrut also opposes new taxes and other economic measures planned by the new administration, maintaining that they are always imposed on low and middle-income workers, rather than on high-income wage earners as well as employers.

A number of Histadrut leaders,

however, criticized the strike decision and urged Peretz to start with more moderate steps until the government makes its move. Union leaders also complained there is not enough time to organize the strike.

Na'amat Chairwoman Ofra Friedman asked Peretz to call initially for workers' meetings, to explain the significance of privatization, which would give the government time to explain its planned steps and give it an opportunity to cooperate with the workers' representatives.

Chairman of the Labor Secretaries' Forum Pinni Kabbalo also expressed dissatisfaction with the strike decision, noting that other measures - such as

demonstrations and workers' meetings - should be taken first. He and other labor council secretaries urged Peretz to consult with them before declaring a strike, and to decide whether yesterday's announced action is a strike or a protest meeting.

Despite the criticism, Peretz remained adamant but said he would consider proposals by Finance Minister Dan Meridor.

Dan Propper, head of the private employers' coordination bureau, said yesterday that employers object in principle to any strike - especially one which is not aimed at private employers - and that such action would primarily damage the workers.

Propper added that privatization is essential for the economy's recovery.



Foreign Minister David Levy (third from right) meets with members of a Tunisian economic delegation at his office yesterday. (Isaac Harari)

Agency deficit might be higher than \$106m. forecast

DAVID HARRIS

THE Jewish Agency's overall deficit might be higher than the \$106 million predicted in February, senior agency sources said yesterday.

The deficit, which includes \$76m. carried over from previous years, is being attributed to this decade's large immigration wave and the decrease in contributions from abroad.

During the past two years, annual contributions to the agency from the US reached \$200m., compared with \$300m. annually during the previous decade.

Reorganization plans include a reduction of agency staff - both in Israel and abroad - to 700 by next year. The organization employs some 1,300 workers, compared with 3,500 six years ago.

Delegates to the agency's annual assembly, which convened last night at Kiryat Gat, will be told that unless contributions from

abroad are increased, further cutbacks will be implemented.

At least 70 percent of all monies raised in the US by major Jewish fund-raising bodies are being spent on domestic programs.

"It's a fact of life," said New York delegate Walter Brecha. "The agency must sharpen its view on what it wants. Money should come from individual Israelis, which in turn becomes a strong selling point in the Diaspora," he said.

"The reality is we've hit a budget crisis," agency secretary-general Howard Weisberg said. Through 1996-97, the agency is making budgetary cuts of \$110m. to avert a predicted \$670m. deficit by the end of 2000. The aim is to balance the budget by 1998.

This will be achieved through government aid, cutbacks, and increasing income, said Tom Salik of Atlanta, chairman of the aliyah and absorption budget subcommittee.

Bankers: Stricter central bank policies could harm real-estate sector

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

BANKERS warned yesterday that the construction sector is in for a rough time if credit provisions are to be further diminished. The Bank of Israel apparently plans to put a lid on credit extended to an increasingly debt-ridden real-estate sector.

As part of the central bank's attempts to limit the banking sector's exposure to credit risks, Supervisor of Banks Ze'ev Abeles plans to subject mortgage banks to the same credit limits which are already imposed on the commercial banks.

Meir Eldar, joint managing direc-

tor of Discount Mortgage Bank, said construction companies are already experiencing difficulties in meeting tender requirements because of hardships in receiving construction loans from the commercial banks.

"Already today, there are many contractors who cannot meet tender requirements since they cannot get construction loans, even if the real estate projects concerned are excellent, and there are guarantees to apartment purchasers," Eldar said.

Another banker specializing in credit said construction companies not only are experiencing problems obtaining money but also are suffering from the sharp surge in housing prices during the last few years.

"People simply can't afford to buy an apartment. They may be able to receive a mortgage, but in many cases they can't pay it back. In addition, expectations that we might be going into a recession are worrying," the banker said.

Under the Bank of Israel's existing bank regulations, commercial banks are not allowed to extend to

any one sector more than 20 percent of their assets in credit. A commercial bank that goes above this limit is obliged to set aside provisions for doubtful debts. But despite the limitations, most of the large banks have gone over the limit, especially Discount.

Dr. Yitzhak Tal, deputy supervisor of banks, said "Twenty-eight percent of all bank credit is given to construction or real estate. The banks' exposure to the construction sector is very high, even compared with other countries, and especially high compared to what we were used to in the past."

But, according to Eldar, the central bank's plans to impose credit limitations on the mortgage banks as well as on the commercial banks will have a very negative impact on the sector's performance.

"Unlike the commercial banks, we do not have any other alternative, since we are only engaged in the real estate sector. If the commercial banks reach the 20% credit line they can move to diamonds, high-tech, commerce, and others. They are much more flexible than us," Eldar said.

FIBI workers protesting Liora Meridor's appointment

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE First International Bank's workers committee will meet with general manager Shlomo Piotrkovsky today to express its objection to the appointment of Dr. Liora Meridor as head of the bank's credit division.

The workers claim Meridor, who had served as head of the research department at the Bank of Israel and is also the wife of Finance Minister Dan Meridor, has no background in credit management.

In addition, the workers object to the appointment of a professional from outside the bank, claiming there are suitable candidates within the institution. Most other banks, they say, have a policy of promoting staff from within.

Piotrkovsky's decision to appoint Meridor is in line with his policy to bring in "new blood from the outside with new ideas." Management believes Meridor will quickly learn whatever is necessary for the position.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Meridor asks Treasury officials to stay: Finance Minister Dan Meridor yesterday asked the Treasury's high brass to remain at the ministry. The request came after Meridor called on director general David Brodet to remain in office despite the ministerial change of guard. Brodet, who worked with Meridor in a less senior position when he served briefly as finance minister in 1990, has agreed to stay. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Economy still slowing down - survey: The economy is continuing to experience a slowdown in growth, especially in the industrial sector, according to a United Mizrahi Bank survey of 430 firms' first-quarter financial statements. The survey reveals that most of the companies suffered a drop in gross profits and operating profits during the quarter. The survey also indicates there has been a slowdown in the firms' real sales growth, especially in the industrial sector. The bank said many companies posted first-quarter sales growth mainly due to the acquisition of subsidiaries. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Appropo signs pact with Osem: The Appropo restaurant chain has signed an agreement with Osem to purchase all products manufactured and distributed by the food giant. The chain expects to buy about NIS 3.5m. worth of food from Osem over the next year. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

'Foreign brands will continue to grab more of retail market': International brands are expected to capture about 40% of the retail market in five years compared with 25% today and 13% three years ago, SuperSol Deputy Marketing President Ya'acov Ginsburg predicted yesterday. Ginsburg expects local manufacturers to continue merging with international giants, which should have a positive impact on the overall economy, especially on the local manufacturing sectors' adoption of new technologies, products, and management techniques. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Savings plan customers don't know their rate of return: The majority of banking customers with savings plans and shekel deposits do not know what interest rate they are receiving, according to a Geocartography Institute survey conducted on behalf of the Israel Consumer Council. While 60 percent of the public have bank savings plans, 66% of them do not know the savings rate. The survey was conducted last week on a sample of 503 people over the age of 18. *Galit Lipkis Beck*

Discount ups savings rate: Israel Discount Bank has raised its interest rate on saving plans. The bank is offering up to 4.6 percent on five-year, index-linked plans which are limited to deposits of more than NIS 100,000. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

EU leaders: We may retaliate against US anti-Cuba laws

FLORENCE (Reuters) - The European Union reserves the right to retaliate against US laws that would seek to punish non-US companies doing business with Cuba, Iran and Libya, EU leaders said on Saturday.

In a statement at the end of a two-day summit, the EU leaders said they were deeply concerned over the effects outside the United States of anti-Cuba legislation and similar pending laws regarding Iran and Libya.

All seek to penalize non-US companies for dealings with the three countries.

"It [the EU] asserts its right and intention to react in defense of the European Union's interest in respect to this legislation and any other secondary boycott legislation having extra-territorial effects," the declaration said.

Trade relations between the EU

and the US are already frayed by disagreements over the anti-Cuban legislation, know as the Helms-Burton Act, which has prompted formal action by the EU within the World Trade Organization.

The legislation on Libya and Iran, both of which Washington accuses of sponsoring terrorism, was introduced in Congress last Wednesday and has drawn an angry response from the office of EU Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan.

The House of Representatives unanimously passed the wide-ranging bill, which seeks to limit investment in oil and natural gas resources in Iran and Libya and also to punish companies that break various UN trade embargoes against Libya.

Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, who chaired the EU summit in Florence, said he had discussed the issues involved during recent talks with President Bill Clinton.

Clinton says new US jobs nearly match rest of G-7

CLEVELAND (Reuters) - US President Bill Clinton said on Saturday that the United States has produced nearly as many new jobs as the six other leading industrial nations combined since he became president.

Clinton, wrapping up a two-day campaign swing to three states, said he would leave for France and the annual economic summit of the world's seven largest industrial countries, known as the G7, on Wednesday.

"The G7 nations, in total in the last three and a half years, have produced 10 million jobs," he said, adding that there have been "9.7 million (jobs) in America. That's something to be proud of."

"We've done a good job of bringing this country back," said Clinton, whose campaign for the White House in 1992 focused on reviving the US economy.

Clinton will participate in a summit that starts on Thursday in Lyon with the leaders of France, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan.

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ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Petah (foreign currency deposit rates) (20.6.96)

Currency (deposit term)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$50,000)	4.85%	4.87%	5.37%
U.S. dollar (\$20,000)	4.00%	4.00%	4.25%
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.87%	1.87%	2.87%
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	1.00%	1.00%	1.50%

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (21.6.96)

Currency basket	CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep. Rate*
	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
U.S. dollar	3.6782	3.6783	3.18	3.24	3.6478
German mark	2.1229	2.1272	2.08	2.19	3.5982
French franc	4.8276	5.0281	4.80	5.14	2.1408
Japanese yen (100)	0.0285	0.0287	0.02	0.02	5.0254
Australian dollar	2.9808	3.0287	2.92	3.05	0.2817
British pound	1.8538	1.8245	1.86	1.86	3.0258
Swiss franc	2.9781	2.9177	2.92	2.92	1.9388
Spanish peseta	0.4898	0.4878	0.48	0.51	2.5883
Norwegian krona	0.4954	0.5045	0.48	0.52	0.4927
Danish krone	0.2518	0.2504	0.25	0.24	0.2525
Finland mark	0.0892	0.0793	0.08	0.07	0.0892
Canadian dollar	2.3702	2.4085	2.32	2.72	0.7038
Australian dollar	2.5387	2.6000	2.51	2.64	2.3898
S. African rand	0.7425	0.7547	0.74	0.74	2.5787
Belgian franc (10)	1.0280	1.0467	0.87	0.78	0.7485
Austrian schilling (10)	3.0185	3.0572	2.96	3.11	1.0403
Italian lire (100)	2.1110	2.1461	2.07	2.18	3.0417
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.51	—	2.1289
Egyptian pound	—	—	0.92	—	4.0730
Irish punt	4.0238	4.0584	—	1.00	1.0298
Portuguese escudo	6.1333	5.2681	5.04	—	4.0528
Spanish peseta (100)	2.8285	2.8583	2.48	2.61	2.5488

* These rates vary according to bank. ** Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

אשרתו לרשמי

Germany, Czech Republic round out last four

MANCHESTER (Reuter) - Germany limped towards a Euro 96 semifinal showdown with England with a fortunate 2-1 victory over Croatia on yesterday which cost them their most dangerous weapon, captain Jurgen Klinsmann.

A first-half Klinsmann penalty and a well-taken goal from libero Matthias Sammer in the 59th minute, when Croatia were reduced to 10 men, was enough to give the favorites victory in a bruising quarter-final.

But the Croats made the Germans look very ordinary for much of the match. Berti Vogts's team was lucky not to give away a penalty and were under intense pressure after losing Klinsmann with a torn calf muscle in the first half.

Davor Suker scored a superb individual goal in the 51st minute but Croatia's challenge withered five minutes later when defender Igor Stimac was sent off for his second bookable offense.

England, which has not beaten Germany in a major tournament since its 4-2 victory in the 1966 World Cup final, could take heart from the way the Croats dominated a great deal of the game.

Germany will have to return to Wembley for Wednesday's semifinal without Klinsmann. He was ruled out for the rest of the tournament, suffering from a torn muscle in his right calf.

England has won just two of their 13 clashes with the Germans since the 1966 final. The last time they met in a competitive match was in the semifinals of the 1990 World Cup in Turin when Germany won a dramatic penalty shoot-out.

Germany's Euro 96 team, however, has not looked anywhere near the kind of smooth, composed football which guided Franz Beckenbauer's team to its World Cup triumph six years ago.

At times Croatia made the German defense look very hesitant, its fluid play in the early stages clearly unsettling its opponents.

Czech Republic 1, Portugal 0
Karel Poborsky scored with a delightfully executed 53rd minute chip to give the Czech Republic a shock win and a place in the Euro 96 semifinals.

But the Czechs, who finished a disappointing quarter-final with only 10 men, will face France on Wednesday without four regular first team players who were all shown yellow cards by over-zealous German referee Hellmut Krug.

Defenders Radek Latal, sent off after 82 minutes, and Jan Suchoparek, plus forwards Pavel Kuka and Radek Bejbi will all miss the Old Trafford clash. All were penalized for largely trivial offenses.

In all, Krug flashed a tournament record-equaling nine yellow cards and one red for Latal who was dismissed for a clumsy rather than a harsh challenge on Portuguese midfielder Dimas.



OUT OF COMMISSION - Germany's Jurgen Klinsmann leaves the field after being injured in yesterday's semifinal against Croatia.

The only goal came when Poborsky benefited from a lucky bounce, the ball running into his path off Oceano de Cruz as he burst through on the Portuguese goal.

The ball ran kindly for him and although he was sandwiched by red-shirted defenders he managed to shake them off and delicately lifted the ball high over goalkeeper Vitor Bala, standing six meters off his line, and into the net.

QUARTER-FINALS (Yesterday's results)

At Manchester: Germany 2, Croatia 1
At Birmingham: Czech Republic 1, Portugal 0

SEMIFINALS (Wednesday's matches)

At Manchester: France vs. Czech Republic
At Wembley: England vs. Germany

Smashnova Israel's only Wimbledon representative

ISRAELI interest at Wimbledon '96 is firmly centered on 19-year-old Anna Smashnova, the only Israeli player in the Grand Slam event this year.

Smashnova, in her third successive visit here, is up against Inez Gorrochategui from Argentina who reached the quarter-finals of the pre-Wimbledon tournament at Eastbourne last week where she went out to eventual winner Monica Seles.

HEATHER CHAIT WIMBLEDON

While Smashnova beat Gorrochategui at Indian Wells earlier this year, her world ranking has now dipped to 127, against the Argentinian's 77.

If Smashnova wins today, her next opponent will likely be 15th-seeded Romanian, Irina Spilica, who plays British wild card entry Samantha Smith.

For the first time since 1979, there is no Israeli player among the 128-entry men's main draw. Amir Hadad and Oren Motevassel survived one round of the qualifying event before Hadad lost 6-2, 6-3 to the US's Jared Palmer and Motevassel was eliminated by Germany's Arne Thoms 6-3, 6-3.

Eyal Erlich, Noam Behr and Ofer Sela all lost their first-round qualifying matches.

Wind robs Johnson of world record

ATLANTA (Reuter) - A burst of wind at the wrong time cost Michael Johnson athletics' oldest record Saturday as the world champion clocked 19.70 seconds in a blazing 200-meter semifinal at the US Olympic trials.

The time was faster than Pietro Mennea's 1979 world record of 19.72 seconds, but a wind of 2.7 meters per second - above the allowable 2.0 mps for record purposes - negated any chance of Johnson setting the record he earlier had promised would fall in yesterday's scheduled final.

Carl Lewis and Mike Marsh both also advanced easily to yesterday's final of the 200.

Decathlete world record holder Don O'Brien also flirted with a world record as he scored 8,726 points to finally get a chance to go for Olympic gold, and 1992 Olympic bronze medalist Jack Pierce ran the fourth-fastest 110-meter high hurdles ever, 12.94 seconds, in a stunning day at the track that will host next month's Atlanta Games.

"I'm extremely disappointed at the wind reading," Johnson said of the 200 meters.

Johnson, who hopes to become the first male to win the 200 and 400 meters at the same Olympics, was clearly in control from early in the race and probably could have run faster if he had not eased up in the final few meters.

"My first 100 is usually the weakest part of the race. This race was a different race. I really thought I had a world record," said Johnson.

Yankees release Howe

CLEVELAND (AP) - Pitcher Steve Howe, whose enormous potential went unrealized during a baseball career pockmarked by seven drug-related suspensions, was released Saturday by the New York Yankees.

The 38-year-old left-handed reliever was cut prior to the Yankees' game against the Cleveland Indians. He left Jacobs Field shortly after being informed of his release.

"I'm not naive enough to not know what the score is," Howe said. "It's been a great ride here. There came a point where something had to happen."

His record this year - compiled mostly as a setup man for John Wetteland - was 0-1 with one save and a 6.35 ERA in 17 games.

SCOREBOARD

CRICKET - Results in the latest round of Sunday League (40 overs a side) cricket matches:

At Bath: Worcestershire beat Somerset by 7 wickets. Somerset 150 all out in 39 overs. Worcestershire 152-3 in 34 overs (T.Moody 50). Worcestershire 4 points.

At Stockton: Surrey beat Durham by 59 runs. Surrey 268-8 in 40 overs (D.Ward 108). Durham 209 all out in 35.4 overs. Surrey 4 points.

At Edgbaston: Warwickshire beat Kent by 8 runs. Warwickshire 223-6 in 40 overs (S.Pollock 57). Kent 214-8 in 40 overs (M.Ealham 56). Warwickshire 4 points.

At Hove: Glamorgan beat Sussex by 124 runs. Glamorgan 183-8 in 40 overs (M.Maynard 52). Sussex 59 all out in 26 overs (O.Parkin 5-28). Glamorgan 4 points.

At Bradford: Yorkshire beat Leicestershire by 36 runs. Yorkshire 181 all out in 40 overs. Leicestershire 145 all out in 34.3 overs (B.Smith 54). Yorkshire 4 points.

At Trent Bridge: Gloucestershire beat Nottinghamshire by 119 runs. Gloucestershire 220-8 in 40 overs (A.Symonds 76, R.Dawson 61). Nottinghamshire 101 all out in 26.5 overs. Gloucestershire 4 points.

At Basingstoke: Hampshire beat Northamptonshire by 7 wickets. Northamptonshire 167 all out in 40 overs (C.Connor 5-25). Hampshire 170-3 in 32.3 overs (W.Benjamin 104 not out). Hampshire 4 points.

At Derby: Middlesex beat Derbyshire by 8 runs. Middlesex 278-4 innings closed (M.Ramprakash 122, P.Weekes 52). Derbyshire 270-6 in 40 overs (D.Jones 118, K.Barnett 64). Middlesex 4 points.

WHEELCHAIR TENNIS - Holland's Ricky Moller beat Israel's Eyal Sartov 6-2, 6-2 to win the final of the Israel Open.

BASEBALL - Yesterday's NL results: Atlanta 1, SF 0; Montreal 3, St. Louis 2; Colorado at Philadelphia; Houston at Los Angeles; Chicago at San Diego; Pittsburgh at Florida; Cincinnati at New York.

Saturday's NL results: Philadelphia 5, Colorado 4; Pittsburgh 4, Florida 1 (10); Atlanta 6, San Francisco 0; New York 5, Cincinnati 2; St. Louis 9, Montreal 4; Los Angeles 3, Houston 0; Chicago 9, San Diego 6 (16).

Yesterday's AL results: NY 6, Cleveland 5; Detroit 10, Minnesota 8; KC 4 Baltimore 0; Seattle at Chicago; California at Milwaukee; Toronto at Oakland; Boston at Texas.

Saturday's AL results: New York 11, Cleveland 9; Baltimore 5, Kansas City 3; Detroit 6, Minnesota 0; Oakland 8, Toronto 4; Seattle 4, Chicago 2; California 6, Milwaukee 4; Texas 8, Boston 2.

England, India headed for a draw

LONDON (Reuter) - A brisk 65 from Surrey's Alec Stewart helped England to 113 for two in their second innings on the fourth day of the second Test against India at Lord's yesterday, leaving the match almost certainly heading for a draw.

Stewart, a late addition to the side after a fractured finger ruled out Warwickshire opener Nick Knight, weathered a lively opening spell from pacemen Javagal Srinath and Venkatesh Prasad before scoring freely off the leg-spin of Anil Kumble.

In contrast, skipper Mike Atherton never looked at ease at the crease, taking a nasty blow on his right index finger before tea before falling to Kumble for 17.

Nasser Hussain, England's batting hero in the first innings at Edgbaston, went for 28, caught at point by Rahul Dravid after leaving his bat in the way of a bouncer from Srinath.

Nightwatchman Peter Marjri survived with one run, and England takes a 28-run lead into today's final day.

Earlier Dravid had steered India to an 85-run first innings lead, failing by just five runs to cap his Test debut with a century.

Dravid, who on Saturday watched fellow debutant Saurav Ganguly hit 131 as India advanced on its first innings target of 344, frustrated the English attack, carving out a series of dogged stands with the Indian tailenders.

He finally fell for 95, edging an outswinger from Chris Lewis to Jack Russell behind the stumps.

England first innings 344 (J.Russell 124, G.Thorpe 89; V.Prasad 5-78)

India first innings (overnight 324-8)

V.Rathore c Hussain b Cork 15
N.Mongia lbw b Lewis 24
S.Ganguly b Mullyally 131
S.Tendulkar b Lewis 31
M.Azharuddin c Russell b Mullyally 18
A.Jadeja b Inani 10
D.Dravid c Russell b Lewis 55
A.Kumble lbw b Marlin 14
J.Srinath b Mullyally 19
P.Mhambrey not out 4
V.Prasad c Stewart b Cork 4
Extras (0-11-15-25-10-10-9) 55
Total 429
Fall of wickets: 1-25 2-59 3-123 4-154 5-202 6-298 7-351 8-368 9-419 Bowling: Lewis 40-11-101-3, Cork 42-23-10-112-2, Mullyally 33-14-71-3, Marlin 34-10-70-1, Inani 12-33-1-1, Hick 2-0-8-0

Javagal Srinath hit 19 before falling to Alan Mullyally for the eighth wicket, and after Dravid's departure, Paras Mhambrey and Venkatesh Prasad added another 10 runs for the final wicket, leaving India on 429.

Mullyally and Chris Lewis took three wickets each, for 71 and 101 respectively, and Dominic Cork was unlucky to finish with just two for 112 from 42 overs.

England second innings

M.Atherton b Kumble 17
A.Stewart not out 85
N.Hussain c Dravid b Srinath 28
P.Marjri not out 1
Extras (0-1-10-1) 12
Total (for two wickets) 113
Fall of wickets: 1-49 2-109 Bowling (to date): Srinath 13-4-29-1, Prasad 10-2-31-0, Kumble 18-6-36-1, Ganguly 1-0-3-0, Mhambrey 3-0-13-0

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WZO to be restructured

MARILYN HENRY

THE Zionist General Council has agreed to a series of moves that will restructure the World Zionist Organization, but stop short of fully merging it into the Jewish Agency.

The plan would reduce the number of WZO departments and would save the Jewish Agency money. After several years, sources said, the WZO would be responsible for raising its own income from sources outside the Jewish Agency.

There has been pressure from the Diaspora to reduce or eliminate the WZO. Some argue that the organization saps resources from the agency, but is no longer relevant. They argue that many of the traditional Zionist organizations cannot compete against other Jewish organizations and institutions in attracting supporters.

Others in the Diaspora complain that the WZO, which has representatives from the political parties, has inappropriately introduced partisan politics into the agency.

The WZO will not vanish, but will be smaller. It will operate through only two authorities: the Zionist Activity Authority and the Zionist Fulfillment Authority for Youth.

The Zionist council wrapped up its meetings last week, in advance of this week's Jewish Agency assembly. The agency, facing severe financial problems, is also expected to consider reforms.

The ultimate intent is to combine the Zionist content of the WZO with agency activities. The council said it hopes to complete negotiations for a new organization of the agency and the WZO by next June, in time for the 100th Zionist Congress.

Agency and WZO Chairman Avraham Burg has indicated he wants all central bodies of the Jewish world to join the new organization.

The new entity is expected to be called "Bayit," an acronym for Brit Yisrael T'fusot Israel-Diaspora Covenant, sources said.



Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and his wife Sara join other family members at a ceremony at the Mount Herzl Military Cemetery yesterday, marking the 20th anniversary of his brother Yonatan's death in the Entebbe rescue. (Brian Heidler)

Dinitz appeals to Supreme Court

EVELYN GORDON

FORMER Jewish Agency chairman Simcha Dinitz appealed his conviction on fraud charges to the Supreme Court yesterday.

Dinitz was convicted of billing some \$6,700 worth of personal expenses to the agency via his personal Sym's clothing store credit card. He was acquitted of charging another \$15,400 worth of personal expenses to the agency via an agency American Express card. Jerusalem District Court sentenced him to a NIS 40,000 fine. The state last week appealed both the partial acquittal and the lightness of the sentence; Dinitz is appealing the conviction, but not the sentence.

In the appeal, attorney Uri Wagman argued that the lower court erred in concluding that Dinitz intended to commit fraud. Wagman noted that Dinitz had refused a number of payments from the agency to which he was legally entitled, such as the annual car allowance - which would have been worth \$30,000-\$50,000 over the course of Dinitz's five-year tenure. He also never requested the clothing allowance to which he was entitled during four of his five years there. It is irrational, Wagman argued, to assume that Dinitz would defraud the agency of \$6,700 but refuse to take up to \$50,000 which he could legally have received.

The fact that Dinitz shopped at Sym's - an inconveniently located discount store - also shows

that he was intending to pay the bills himself, Wagman argued. Had Dinitz really been planning to make the agency pay, there would have been no reason for him not to shop at the most expensive, and convenient, stores, the appeal said.

Wagman also argued that all the relevant people in the Jewish Agency knew the Sym's card was being used for personal expenses, and should therefore have followed standard agency procedure. That all expenses are considered personal unless specifically claimed as institutional.

The very first time Dinitz used the card, the appeal said, he informed the agency that he had bought one suit for personal use and one tuxedo for the agency. Since the chairman is only allowed to buy one suit at agency expense during his tenure, it should have been obvious that all ensuing clothing purchases were personal, Wagman said.

The appeal also challenged a number of statements by various witnesses. Finally, the appeal argued that the case should have been thrown out due to various defects in the police's investigation procedures. For instance, several meetings between investigators and witnesses were not properly documented, and certain relevant documents were missing from the files eventually turned over to the defense.

Likud to vote on Knesset Speaker today

LIAT COLLINS

THE Likud Knesset faction is scheduled to discuss the appointment of a Speaker and the chairman of various committees in what is likely to be a stormy meeting this morning. The discussion and vote on a Speaker is in defiance of a request by Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu to delay filling the post, apparently to give him time to pass the so-called Norwegian law, which would allow his favorite for the position, Ovadia Eli, to become an MK.

When Netanyahu conveyed his request to postpone the vote last week, the Likud faction responded with an open rebellion, including some of his supporters, and eventually agreed to accept a delay of just one week.

There are four candidates for Speaker: Eliahu Ben-Elissar, Dan Tichon, Shaul Amor, and Naomi Blumenthal. Ben-Elissar is considered the favorite, although it is possible he

will be passed over and given another senior position, either in the Knesset or as a political appointment in the foreign service. The vote is secret, and it may be necessary to hold two rounds if no candidate wins more than 50 percent. Seven deputy speakers - four from the coalition and three from the opposition - also have to be chosen.

The appointment of the heads of the 12 Knesset committees is being disputed both within the Likud faction and by the opposition. Labor faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen has said the opposition will not agree to head only three committees and a fourth in rotation with the coalition. "If the Likud agreed to it in the last Knesset, more fool them," he said. Cohen is demanding the opposition be given five committees to chair, saying he based this on the ration between opposition

and coalition MKs. "After Netanyahu gave away all his assets [to Likud coalition partners], the Likud is left with hardly any committees, and that's why he's fixing his sights on committees which belong to the opposition," Cohen said.

He said the opposition would consider petitioning the High Court if it is not given more committees.

Michael Eitan (Likud), the likely coalition chairman and a member of the arrangements committee working on the division of power in the Knesset, rejected Cohen's claims.

"After they lost at the polls they hope to win in court," he said. "The opposition always had fewer committees than the proportional number of its MKs would imply and we're not about to change the order of things because of an internal Labor power struggle for the post of faction chairman between Cohen and Yossi Beilin."

MKs find out about the job's privileges

LIAT COLLINS

ALL MKs have been given a booklet detailing some of the perks of the job. MKs currently earn NIS 15,000 gross a month. This will go up to NIS 20,000 in October, but their pension rights have dropped. The Knesset meets Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays.

Each MK has a budget of NIS 31,250 a year for keeping in touch with the public. They are entitled to spend it on a mobile phone; personal computer with the possibility of linking up to Internet; fax; answering machine; sophisticated phone for use at home; pager; and photocopier. The cost of press conferences;

surveys and questionnaires; daily newspapers; and translation services also come from this budget. The Knesset's administration deals with all the problems MKs might have with their home phones including technical problems, queries on bills, ordering a line, or moving the line from one address to another. An MK is entitled to 25,000 free phone call units a year. MKs living north of Haifa or south of Beersheba can have 30,000 free units. MKs can send up to 15,000 letters a year free from the Knesset post office. This service stops 75 days before the elections. They can eat subsidized meals in the Knesset's general cafeteria and special cafeteria for MKs. They also receive free first aid at the Knesset clinic, and a free anti-flu vaccination every winter. Those who live outside of Jerusalem can have free accommodation at a hotel in the capital on Monday and Tuesday nights and on other days under special circumstances, such as all-night debates or unscheduled sessions. Bank Yahav gives MKs a loan to buy a private car. They are also entitled to two parliamentary aides to help them.

Likud gets 10 days to examine Labor data on alleged election fraud

EVELYN GORDON

THE Jerusalem District Court has given the Likud and the Central Elections Committee 10 days to check the data submitted by Labor in its appeal against the election results.

The court will then hear the appeal, which is against the outcome of the prime ministerial race, on July 4.

The appeal is based on a check Labor performed of some 100 ballot boxes. The party claimed it uncovered apparent fraud at a significant number of these polling stations. In some cases, for instance, there were more votes cast at a certain station than the number of registered voters at that station, and in other cases, votes were cast by people who, according to the Interior Ministry, were out of the country on Election Day.

Attorney Eyal Rosovsky, representing Labor, explained that if the incidence of fraud Labor uncovered during its sample check is representative of the whole country, the number of ballot boxes which would be disqual-

ified would contain more than the 30,000 votes which separated the two prime ministerial candidates, and would therefore invalidate the election results. The party is therefore asking for a careful check of every ballot box in the country.

At a hearing before court president Vardimos Zailer yesterday, the CEC asked for time to check the accuracy of the data presented by Labor. Attorney Eytan Haberman, representing Likud, said his party also wanted to check the data, since there could be valid explanations for the apparent discrepancies. For instance, he said, if voters residing abroad entered Israel on a foreign passport to vote, they would not have shown up on the Interior Ministry's computers. A few extra votes at polling stations, he added, could be accounted for if the extra voters were policemen on duty, who do not have to vote at the polling booth where they are registered.

The Likud also intends to argue that the appeal should be rejected out of hand, but Zailer decided not to hear such arguments until the factual checks have been completed.

Haberman said that courts always start from the assumption that the elections were conducted properly, due to the stringent supervision of the CEC and of the party representatives who are present at every polling booth. A small sample of ballot boxes is not enough to disprove this assumption on a nationwide scale, he said.

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WEATHER

Haifa	22-30
Tiberias	20-35
Afula	19-33
Sameria	18-30
Tel Aviv	22-28
Jerusalem	19-30
Beerseba	18-34
Eilat	22-38
Dead Sea	24-37

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear. Slight rise in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	
Amsterdam	10	17	cloudy
Berlin	10	17	cloudy
Buenos Aires	10	18	clear
Calcutta	26	32	cloudy
Chicago	14	22	cloudy
Copenhagen	10	18	cloudy
Frankfurt	11	18	cloudy
Geneva	10	17	cloudy
Helsinki	10	17	cloudy
Hong Kong	25	28	rain
London	10	17	cloudy
Los Angeles	16	22	cloudy
Madrid	10	17	cloudy
Moscow	14	21	cloudy
Paris	10	17	cloudy
Perth	10	17	cloudy
Rome	10	17	cloudy
Stockholm	11	18	cloudy
Tokyo	10	17	cloudy
Vienna	10	17	cloudy
Zurich	10	17	cloudy

Winning cards
In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the jack of spades, queen of hearts, jack of diamonds, and eight of clubs.

Lod gets new mayor
The Lod city council unanimously elected Beni Regav as the city's new mayor yesterday. He replaces Maxim Levy, who was elected to the Knesset as a Geshet MK. Regav previously served as deputy mayor. Regav said Levy would give him advice on running the city. *litm*

Herziya Marina opens
The Herziya Marina was officially opened yesterday at a party hosted by the municipality. It also celebrated the laying of the cornerstone of the planned Marina Towers residential project and shopping mall and included performances by entertainers. In response, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel flew a plane above the site with a banner protesting the project as "a beach-burying monster." Amit Shapira, head of the SPNI's environmental protection department, noted that studies carried out for the municipality by a Canadian company suggest the marina has caused serious damage to the beaches to the north by blocking the natural flow of sand. *Liat Collins*

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Speakers: Prof. H. Avni, Prof. M. Brown, Prof. S. Fox, Dr. E. Lederhendler, Mrs. S. Nardi, Prof. J. D. Sarna.
Chair: Prof. S. DellaPergola, Head The Institute of Contemporary Jewry
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